EXPLORING CULTURAL BOUNDARIES OF SPORT FANDOM THROUGH
CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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By
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Katherine Larena Sveinson, candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Kinesiology & Health Studies, has presented a thesis titled, *Exploring Cultural Boundaries of Sport Fandom Through Critical Discourse Analysis*, in an oral examination held on July 24, 2019. The following committee members have found the thesis acceptable in form and content, and that the candidate demonstrated satisfactory knowledge of the subject material.

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Abstract

This research aimed to critique the notion that sport solely brings people together by exploring discourses related to the creation of cultural boundaries by sport fans through critical discourse studies (CDS) (van Dijk, 2016; Martin, 2002). The three research questions for this dissertation are: How do sport fan-produced texts on social media create, reinforce, or challenge discourses? How do these discourses contribute to the production of cultural boundaries of sport fandom on Twitter? How does drawing cultural boundaries through discourses represent the simultaneously inclusive and exclusive nature of sport fandom on Twitter?

A critical discourse analysis (CDA) methodology was employed, using the Toronto Blue Jays 2017 season as a case. Data was collected via Visual Twitter Analytics (Vista) software (Hoeber, Hoeber, El Meseery, Odoh, & Gopi, 2016). This software collects live tweets based on queries. Using the queries #LetsRise, #BlueJays, and @BlueJays, the terms ‘fan’, ‘fans’, and ‘fandom’ were searched for study one. The terms ‘Pillar’, ‘Superman’, and ‘@KPILLAR4’ were searched for study two. Data were read and re-read to determine patterns in the tweets. Next, tweets that represented the different discourses were selected and analyzed using critical discourse analysis.

Data analysis involved Fairclough’s (1995a) three-dimensional framework, which involves text analysis, processing analysis, and social analysis, and van Dijk’s (2016) ideological discourse structures, including polarization, pronouns, emphasis on positive self-description and negative other-description, and norms and values. The first study found that using Twitter, fans both reinforced and undermined cultural boundaries based on ideological discourses of sport fandom, which included discourses of loyalty, unity,
and consumption. The second study framed reactions to an athlete’s transgression based on the athlete’s brand image associated with Superman. Discourses of Superman, Justice League, and villains demonstrated the ways that cultural boundaries were reinforced and challenged based on opinions of appropriate language in sport.

This work demonstrated the simultaneously fluid and rigid nature in which cultural boundaries are drawn. While sport fandom has been primarily explored from a functionalist perspective, these findings suggest that there is also an exclusionary culture, which provides an alternative perspective of sport fandom and fan behaviour.
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Dedication

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 My Story: Part 1

1998: I was 10. It was a hot July day in Regina, Saskatchewan, somewhere around 35 degrees. The Saskatchewan Roughriders were playing a game that day. There was no way my mom was going to sit out in that heat, so I got to go to the game with my dad. The Roughriders were playing the Calgary Stampeders and the crowd was intense. I enjoyed the game for the most part, probably minus sweating what appeared to be the equivalent of my body weight. At one point, a fight broke out between a Riders fan and a Stampeders fan close to where we were sitting. I was scared and did not want to be at the game anymore. I remember asking my dad why they were fighting and if we could leave. At that age, I was not emotionally attached to any team, and therefore it did not make sense to me that anyone could get that affected by an identity to a team, nor did I understand why that type of behaviour would happen at a sporting event. I did not comprehend how cheering for different teams could create a hostile environment.

For a long time after that, as I attended more sporting events, I tended to cheer for the home team. Even when travelling to see the Riders play the Stampeders in Calgary, which was basically a home game for the Riders, as there were many fans who travelled but also fans from Saskatchewan who relocated to Calgary who did not switch allegiances. While in Vancouver, my mom, a friend, and I went to see the Vancouver Grizzlies play the Denver Nuggets and I wore my Kobe Bryant jersey (not that it made any sense). So while I wasn’t a fan of either team, I opted to cheer for the Grizzlies at home. No matter what event I went to, I always felt comfortable cheering for the home team, knowing that no one would pick on me or I would not have to deal with the
negative behaviours towards opposing fans that I have previously witnessed. Cheering for the home team also allowed me to take part in the culture. I would observe what other fans of the same team were doing and follow suit, whether that was taking part in choreographed cheers “Go Riders Go” or even booing the team when they were putting up a less than stellar performance.

In these early sport spectatorship experiences, I bought in to the dominant discourse of sport fandom, which emphasizes that sports have unifying abilities (e.g., Crawford, 2004; Wann, 2006). Studies have found that identifying with a sport team can enhance self-esteem (Branscombe & Wann, 1991) and provide opportunities to create social connections that can be temporary or enduring (Wann, 2006), which I felt when joining in on cheers or replicating behaviour of home team fans. Furthermore, Gantz (2013) noted that sports create a common bond that brings together people of various religious and political views, gender, and race. This dominant discourse, based on a functionalist perspective, is acknowledged beyond academia. Popular media articles have also discussed how being a sport fan can result in being happier and healthier through feeling a sense of belongingness with like-minded individuals (cf. Almendrala, 2015). It is difficult to escape this perspective of sports, as sport organizations use the discourse of unity in their marketing campaigns. For example, the 2017 Toronto Raptors’ tag line ‘We the North’ has created a sense of national pride with the team by highlighting the connection that all Raptors fans have as the ‘north of the US border’ team in the National Basketball Association (NBA). The National Football League (NFL) runs a campaign with the theme ‘Football is Family’. A recent NFL Shop commercial shows multiple
women wearing the same team’s clothing with the line “we have more in common than we may think.”

1.2 My Story: Part 2

2010: I attended my first NFL game with my dad. We travelled to Minneapolis to watch my main man Brett Favre (unfortunately in a Vikings uniform) play my beloved Green Bay Packers. I woke up the morning of the game and knew I had to wear my Brett Favre (Green Bay) jersey. Part of me was concerned. How are other people going to treat me when I am wearing the opposing team’s merchandise? Will I be yelled at? Will I have to deal with other fans yapping at me all game? I thought back to that experience I had when I was 10, and for a second, I thought I should change my clothes. No. No way. We (i.e., my dad) paid for plane tickets, hotel, and game tickets and I am not letting the way other people may treat me affect my desire to demonstrate my fandom and allegiance. Yet again, with the proximity of Green Bay to Minneapolis and the fact that the Mall of America had a Packers store, I didn’t exactly feel as part of the minority of fans. Other than experiencing a few people say “Packers suck” to me in passing, it was not a bad experience. Plus, when the Packers beat the Vikings 31-3, I felt pretty good leaving the game in what I was wearing.

2013: Home sweet home. I attended my first game in Green Bay. The Packers were playing the Detroit Lions at the beginning of October. I was with my people. Whatever they said, whatever behaviour they displayed, I replicated. I was learning how to be a Packers fan via other fans at the game, even though I already displayed my own fan behaviours while watching the games at home. I quickly tried to adapt to demonstrate I belonged there. For example, every time the Packers got a first down, the announcer
would say “and that’s another Packers” and the crowd would yell “first down!” while
making the signal that the referees do to illustrate a first down has been made. As soon as
I realized the pattern, I joined in.

2014: “BREAK HIS LEGS” I yelled while attending the San Francisco 49ers at
Seattle Seahawks game. I was encouraging Seattle’s defense to get the quarterback of the
49ers, Colin Kaepernick. I had a grudge. In the 2013 season, Kaepernick demolished
Green Bay’s defense in the playoffs. There is nothing more that I wanted than to see the
49ers go down and Kaepernick to play horribly. Tensions were high at that game, as the
two teams are rivals. It was common for the Seahawks fans to boo the 49ers fans for just
walking up the stairs to their seats. When the Seahawks were ahead at the end of the
fourth quarter, the chant began: “Nananana, Nananana, hey, hey, hey, goodbye”;
Seahawks fans, in total unison, serenading the 49ers fans on their way out of the stadium.
I loved it. I sang with them. I was happy.

On the drive home from Seattle, I began to think more about my actions and
behaviours at the game. I had just finished my master’s thesis a week before and was
beginning my PhD as soon as I got home so I was fully entrenched in the sport fan
literature and critiquing not only my own actions as a fan but others’ as well. “I didn’t
actually want them to break his legs” I thought to myself, “I just wanted them to sack
him”. So why did I use that phrase to allude to something else? Why did I use violent
language? Was it the atmosphere? I didn’t actually mean it, but I did say it. Why did no
one around me find that to be an inappropriate thing to say? Did I increase my sense of
belongingness to that place and those people (albeit temporarily) by demonstrating that
type of behaviour? Or were there people around me who found what I said to be unacceptable and perhaps questioned my morals?

2015: It was a warm, sunny Wednesday in downtown Seattle. My husband and I went to one of our favourite coffee shops and were sitting on a bench enjoying the day. The Packers played the Seahawks the next day in the NFL season opener and I could not wait. As we sat there, I saw a few people sporting their Green Bay Packers jersey. “Good for them,” I thought, wearing the away team’s jersey in enemy territory. The Seahawks had just won the Super Bowl so the sense of pride in Seattle was undeniable. I knew it was going be a tension filled game, but to see some fans walking around, demonstrating their allegiance to the visiting team was great. There was one interaction that day that has been engrained in my mind. A man, wearing a Green Bay jersey, and his friends were just walking down the sidewalk. Another man, who I presumed was a local, looked at him and yelled out “F**k the Packers!” and walked away laughing. “Did that just happen?” I thought to myself. I reflect on that moment often and wonder what it is about sports that could make that an acceptable behaviour. Is that just fan banter? Is being treated like that just part of being a fan of the visiting team? Would other Seahawks’ fans condone what that man said? Is that type of behaviour acceptable in sport settings? Then I thought, “would I have reacted the same way if that was said at the stadium?” Probably not.

The next day as I got ready for the game, I put on my jersey and questioned myself. I simply want to go enjoy the game. I do not want to be harassed by other fans the entire time. I debated for a while but came to the conclusion that demonstrating my support is important. Once in our seats, there were a few moans and groans about sitting
by a Packers fan. The man behind me made a few comments about how bad the Packers were, intentionally loud enough to try to bother me. With hardly any visible Packers fans at that game, I found that I was a bit more reserved in my behaviour. At the end of the game, the man behind said that I was “not that bad” for a visiting team’s fan. Interestingly, my husband who was not wearing any sport related clothing, was sitting down when myself and all the other fans were standing. Some men walked by him and told him to stand up and cheer. They viewed his behaviour (i.e., disengaged) as inappropriate at a sporting event. Is being uninterested worse than being an ignorant, obnoxious fan?

Reflecting on these thoughts and experiences, it would be naïve to assume that sport fandom only promotes inclusion, as I have witnessed exclusionary practices that take place in this setting. This is not only true from my experiences, but stories told in popular media. For example, while leaving a Canadian Football League game, a 9-year-old boy was sworn at and had beer poured on his head based on the assumption he was cheering for the opposing team (The Canadian Press, 2016). Additionally, there are examples of sport fans engaging in exclusionary behaviours such as harassment in online and in-person environments (Gubar, 2015). Recently, Coakley (2017) questioned whether the emotional unity of sports is capable of confronting real social inequalities and injustices. Just because sport has the ability to unite individuals does not automatically mean that it fosters inclusivity (Coakley, 2017). Therefore, unity in fandom can be both superficial and temporary.

Scholars have critiqued the functionalist perspective of sport by studying issues like racism, sexism, and homophobia amongst athletes, coaches, and those in leadership
positions. However, there has been limited critique of this notion with respect to fandom. When this dominant discourse is challenged, it is often presented as exclusion based on the gender of fans or negative perceptions of race (e.g., Cleland & Cashmore, 2014, 2016; Gee, 2015; Sveinson & Hoeber, 2016; Toffoletti, 2017a, 2017b; Wenner, 2012). This exclusion is often associated or explained in relation to culture. For example, women may be excluded as fans due to the masculine culture of the sport/sporting environment (e.g., Jones, 2008; Sveinson & Hoeber, 2016). There has been a push for more research to challenge this predominantly positive perspective, as Toffoletti (2017b) recognized in her work, there is a "myth of sport as a universal equaliser that brings diverse people together in a harmonious shared love of sport" (p. 5).

1.3 My Reflection

All of these experiences have led me to critique sport fandom in different ways. While I have experienced the sense of belongingness and unifying element of fandom, it has not always been the case. For visiting fans or even fans who do not conform to the behaviours that others expect, fandom can be exclusionary. How are different actions and behaviour deemed appropriate or not? Is culture a mediating factor in being included or excluded as a fan? Do all fans agree on what is acceptable behaviour? Can ‘bad’ behaviours be viewed favourably? I often think about how behind every fan who is wearing a jersey, is a human and behind every username on social media is a human. However, the passion and emotional investment in teams cause some people to ignore basic humanitarian treatment.

Beyond the idea of behaviour, I think about how every day, we are exposed to ways of ‘being’ a fan or who is a fan. In commercials, mail outs, marketing campaigns,
fan interactions, social media discussions, and sport highlights, we are surrounded by sport fan discourses. Yet, we mostly just accept them. We rarely critically evaluate what is being shown; we can either become numb to all the texts that surround us every day or blindly accepting them without question. “Make sure you buy the merchandise or you won’t be considered a ‘real’ fan”. “Make sure you play fantasy sports or you are not a diehard”. “Don’t ever miss a game by streaming it on a phone at a wedding because real fans do not miss game”. Translation: consume or be an inauthentic fan. While sport fan research continues to grow in multiple different directions, I aim to take a step back and look at how the social media texts produced by sport fans creates, reinforces, or challenges dominant discourses.

1.4 Critiquing Sport Fandom

In order to critique the functionalist perspective of sport fandom, I have focused on how the language use of sport fans contributes to discourses that can be simultaneously inclusive and exclusive. Surprisingly, research has yet to explore the impact of sport fans’ language use in relation to creating dominant discourses found within sport fandom. To investigate this topic, critical discourse studies (CDS) will be used. This approach explores how texts (e.g., verbal words, images, written words) are manifestations of discourses. CDS also provides a new avenue for sport fandom studies, as it allows the researcher to deconstruct and uncover taken-for-granted meanings associated with discourses (e.g., Cheek, 2004; Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002; Tenorio, 2011). This theory and methodology has been implemented in sport studies (e.g., Knoppers & Anthonissen, 2008; Liao & Markula, 2009; McDowell &
Schaffner, 2011; McGannon & Spence, 2012; Meân & Kassing, 2007; Simon-Maeda, 2013; van Sterkenburg & Knoppers, 2004), yet it is rarely used in sport fan research.

While some fan research has taken a critical perspective towards gender (e.g., Jones, 2008; Sveinson & Hoeber, 2016; Toffoletti, 2017b; Wenner, 2012) and race (e.g., McGovern, 2016), the majority of studies investigate sport fan related topics, such as identification, motivation, and consumption, without critique. Furthermore, these critical studies do not implement a critical discourse studies approach, providing an opportunity to explore fandom from a new perspective. The benefit of critiquing commonly held views, or taken-for-granted meanings, is it can bring to light alternative perspectives that have been previously overlooked. For example, research regarding hooliganism (i.e., a range of fans behaviour from being rowdy to malicious damage; Carroll, 1980) has explored the negative impacts of their behaviour (e.g., Di Domizio & Caruso, 2015; Jewell, Simmons, & Szymanski, 2014). However, Rookwood and Pearson (2012) explored non-hooligan fans’ perceptions of hooligan fans. They found that non-hooligan fans felt that hooliganism was beneficial by adding to their game day experience and they appreciated the strong demonstration of support that hooligans displayed for the team. These findings provide an alternative insight into one component of sport fandom.

In addition to critiquing the concept that sport is predominately unifying, in this dissertation I analysis what is considered as inclusionary and exclusionary discourses. The findings of Rookwood and Pearson (2012) cause me to question: does being part of a sport culture include behaving in a way that would otherwise be unacceptable in regular society? Importantly, can ‘negative’ fan behaviours create unity? Few studies have explored the ‘dark side’ of sport fandom by investigating ‘dysfunctional’ sports fan
(Wakefield & Wann, 2006) and spectator rage (Grove, Pickett, Jones, & Dorsch, 2012). Recently, Funk (2017) suggested that the ‘dark side’ of sport fandom requires academic attention. In questioning and critiquing the way in which sport fans produce discourses, I have been able to uncover the complexities, as well as the overt and subtle ways in which sport fan cultures can be inclusive and/or exclusive in social media environments.

1.5 Being a Sport Fan Online

In addition to my experiences attending games in person, I have observed sport fan behaviours and language use online, as I follow multiple teams and leagues on social media (Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram). While I tend not to engage in sport related discussions on social media, I will read comments, posts, or responses related to sport events. I have read comments that have seemed inclusive or friendly, such as when a Pistons fan posted on the Raptors Facebook page after the beginning of the 2016 season:

As a Piston fan, I know one game, especially the first game of the season does not define the whole year. However, with that said, if your team stays healthy, you should be able to put a good push on the Cavaliers. As I also said last year, this very young Piston team is where you team was two/three years ago. Barring injuries, I can see the Pistons improving on last year’s performance and maybe moving up to four or three with you/Cleveland fighting to the 1st spot. Let me know what your fan base thinks about what I said.

I interpreted the tone and language use of this message to be relatively neutral (or even positive) instead of negative. With the intensity, passion, and emotional connection that fans have for their team, I believe it is more common for language to appear gloating, defensive, or distinguishing a sport/team/fan base from others. In fact, a popular segment
on Jimmy Kimmel Live! (a late night talk show) is called ‘Mean Tweets’ in which celebrities (including athletes) read the mean things that have been said about them on Twitter. There are multiple editions that only focus on NFL and NBA players. In the NBA edition #3, Tony Parker (point guard for the San Antonio Spurs) reads: “People say Lebron flops. Have you ever seen this little French woman named Tony Parker?” These two examples explore the complex and varying ways in which sport fans interact and converse in social media contexts. Of note, while not all who post online are sport fans, at the very least they would be considered sport consumers. For the purpose of this dissertation, I will use the term ‘sport fans’ to refer to both fans and consumers. I chose this label due to taking a broader approach to fandom, recognizing that fans can exhibit a variety of traits and varying levels of identification, loyalty, and consumption. Additionally, the people in this study were using their discretionary time to discuss the Blue Jays and interact with other fans on Twitter, suggesting at the very least, they are interested in the Blue Jays or baseball. The only exception is the second article in the findings section, in which I rely on the term ‘consumers’ to represent those who may be tweeting from a social advocate standpoint and not as a fan of the team.

In order to create boundaries for this study, I have focused on social media language use and behaviours that are engrained with cultural manifestations such as norms, values, jargon, ideas, and beliefs to understand inclusionary and exclusionary discourses related to sport fandom on Twitter. This also follows Norman’s (2014) suggestion that “there is clearly a great deal more research that needs to be done to explore the social significance of online sport fan groups in diverse social contexts” (p. 411). Additionally, social media has been noted as an appropriate data source to explore
fandom, which McGovern (2016) noted, “as sport moves into new media, sports fans increasingly communicate with each other online. This transition opens up new questions about sports fans’ engagement with media, with each other, and within the larger social world” (p. 331). Gibbons and Dixon (2010) also strongly advocated for the use of online interactions in studying sport fans. They noted that the Internet allows fans to discuss issues, voice their opinion, and reinforce their identities and therefore, researchers should use the Internet to access data via social media, webpages, blogs, and so forth.

What makes Twitter data particularly interesting from a critical discourse studies perspective is the content limitation. Users only have 140\(^1\) characters to get their message across, which can result in carefully choosing every word and phrase. Importantly, the discourse of inclusiveness is present in Twitter’s (2017) mission, which is “to give everyone the power to create and share ideas and information instantly, without barriers” (para. 1). However, exclusive behaviours are also present on Twitter, such as bullying (e.g., Bellmore, Calvin, Xu, & Zhu, 2015) and sexism (e.g., Megarry, 2014).

1.6 The Relevance of Culture

In order to understand what discourses could contribute to inclusion and exclusion, the culture of the sport and the team must be taken into account. Culture, which refers to “patterns of interpretation composed of the meanings associated with various cultural manifestations, such as stories, rituals, formal and informal practices, jargon, and physical arrangements” (Martin, 2002, p. 330), is a concept that is taken for granted in sport fan research as it is often used as an explanation or justification for

\(^{1}\) November 7\(^{th}\), 2017 – Twitter changed from 140-character limit to 280. This changed occurred after data collection was finished.
findings rather than the focal point of the study (exceptions include Amato, Okleshcn Peters, & Shao, 2005; Dixon, 2012; Hughson & Free, 2006). This lack of focus on culture is interesting since different sports have particular cultural norms, values, and ideas associated with them. In football, fans are expected to be loud and dress up in costumes. In tennis, fans are expected to be silent before and during play. In European football, fans have choreographed chants. There are also specific cultural norms and behaviours within team fan bases. It is common to see Green Bay Packers fans wearing cheese hats, or Saskatchewan Roughrider fans with watermelons on their heads. Exploring and recognizing the sport fan culture of a particular team can greatly aid in understanding the context in which discourses are produced, reinforced, or challenged.

Some studies have provided only a glimpse into culture by focusing on cultural characteristics of different sport fan groups. For example, Back, Crabbe and Soloman (2001) explored the racist culture of European football fans, Norman (2014) found a masculine culture present among ice hockey fans, and Palmer and Thompson (2007) found that drinking, wearing a uniform, and being an ‘in your face’ type fan were characteristics of an Australian Rules Football fan group. In order to gain a better understanding of sport fan cultures’ inclusive and exclusive nature, I explored this concept from a broader perspective by focusing on more than the characteristics, but how social norms, behaviours, attitudes, and expectations of sport fans determined cultural boundaries, including how these borders are reinforced or resisted. This supports the direction suggested by Wheaton (2007), who noted that more research must focus on sporting subcultures to gain a deeper understanding:
Analyses of sport subcultures need to examine the homogeneity and heterogeneity of experiences in and between sport subcultures, revealing the multiple and often conflicting identities of individuals and groups within the cultural formations. The experiences of all participants—young and old, marginal consumers and the core, of different experiences, genders, sexualities, abilities or disabilities, and ethnicities—need exploration, as does, critically, the ways cultural power is reproduced and contested. (p. 297)

1.7 Significance

While sport fan research continues to be popular, the topics generally follow a narrow path. More research needs to look beyond the functionalist and quantitative work that is prominent to explore other and diverse experiences and discourses that provide an alternative perspective or contradict what is known. For example, exploring experiences of different types of fans (i.e., new immigrants, children, seniors) or different sport cultures could demonstrate the varying experiences of fans and how dominant discourses can be unique based on the context. This work contributes to the groundwork of sport fan literature by exploring how discourses have the ability to create inclusion and exclusion, making one of the major contributions of this research a critique of the commonly held idea that sport is solely unifying. Through the use of CDS, I explored how language creates cultural boundaries of inclusivity and exclusivity in sport fandom, and how the inherent power and ideological relations that are present in the micro level of language is enacted and practiced through discourses at the macro level. Lastly, by using a transdisciplinary approach (i.e., CDS in conjunction with cultural boundaries), in a new context (sport fandom), my work not only explored the power of discourses in creating
boundaries but also contributes to further developing both concepts (Fairclough, 2016). The findings from these studies provide sport organizations and practitioners with tools and strategies to challenge exclusionary discourses and create new ones that result in a more inclusive environment, allowing more people to experience the social, mental, and emotional benefits that can be attained through sport fandom (Wann, 2006). It also provides conceptual approaches to sport fandom and introduces an underutilized methodological approach in sport management to aid in further research of sport scholars.

1.8 Purpose

The purpose of this research was to explore discourses related to creating, resisting, and challenging cultural boundaries by sport fans through critical discourse studies. I investigated the social construction of discourses to simultaneously create inclusion and exclusion. The three research questions of this study are:

1. How do sport fan-produced texts on social media create, reinforce, or challenge discourses?

2. How do these discourses contribute to the production of cultural boundaries of sport fandom on Twitter?

3. How does drawing cultural boundaries through discourses represent the simultaneously inclusive and exclusive nature of sport fandom on Twitter?

This dissertation is structured into five chapters. The following section will provide a literature review of CDS, culture, and fandom. Then, the methodology and methods are discussed. Next, the findings are presented in the form of three papers. Lastly, the conclusion chapter focuses on the implications of this work.
Chapter 2 – Literature Review

In this chapter, I will begin by discussing discourse analysis, and critical discourse studies specifically, as it relates to this research. I will then examine culture and cultural boundaries and its application to this study. Finally, I will provide an overview of the relevant literature regarding sport fans and fandom.

2.1 Discourse Analysis

Prior to this discussion, it is important to establish the terminology that will be used throughout this dissertation. Traditionally, the term ‘discourse analysis’ has been used, however recent work has begun to use ‘discourse studies’. Similar to the change in terminology with critical discourse studies and critical discourse analysis, discourse studies represents more than just analysis, but the variety of theories, methodologies, and practices that are used. For this section, I will use the term ‘discourse analysis’ as the sources that I reference have heavily relied on this phrase.

In the most general sense, discourse analysis (DA) is the exploration of how language is used (Gee & Handford, 2012). It is “the study of the meaning we give language and the actions we carry out when we use language in specific contexts” (Gee & Handford, 2012, p. 1). It follows that discourse analysis can be considered a sub-discipline of linguistics and contributes to social science research (Gee & Handford, 2012). DA is based on a view of language as a form of social practice that has implications beyond its typical communicative role (Wood & Kroger, 2000). From their perspective, Gee and Handford (2012) added that discourse analysis can include the following: (1) pragmatics which is “the study of contextually specific meanings of language use” and (2) the study of texts, which is “the study of how sentences and
utterances pattern together to create meaning across multiple sentences or utterances” (p. 1).

Wood and Kroger (2000) noted that the origins of DA are found in various disciplines such as philosophy, literary theory, linguistics, and sociology. Its applicability to various fields results in DA being seen as multi-, inter-, and trans-disciplinary (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Cheek, 2004; Fairclough, 2016; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002; Wodak & Meyer, 2016; Wood & Kroger, 2000). Multidisciplinary refers to its use in various fields of study (Wodak & Meyer, 2016), whereas its interdisciplinary nature refers to merging concepts or methods from similar disciplines which helps focus on how language can create and transmit knowledge, organize social structure, or exercise power (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Transdisciplinary means that, “the logic and categories of different disciplines are brought into dialogue with one another” (Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2011, p. 362). This is beneficial because this dialogue can promote both methodological and theoretical developments in each discipline (Fairclough, 2016). Moreover, Wodak (2008) noted that DA has distinct meanings in different disciplines, as it can be a sector of linguistics, a methodology, an entire field of study, and a critical theory, amongst others. As such, DA can be applied in a variety of ways (e.g., theory, methodology, or perspective) and contexts depending on the purpose of the research. I implemented critical discourse studies, a branch of DA, as a theory and research design. This is discussed further in the CDS section.

Discourse analysis uses a social constructivist epistemology that brings a particular way of viewing language in social production (Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). This epistemology focuses on the processes that construct and
produce the social world (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Burr (1995) acknowledged four premises that are prominent in social constructivist epistemology. The first is a critical approach to taken-for-granted knowledge, meaning that knowledge of the world should not be considered objective truth (Burr, 1995). Thus, what I believe to be true may be different than what other researchers on the same topic view to be true. Second, historical and cultural specificity refers to the notion that our knowledge and views of the world is informed by our history and culture, also making them unique to different histories and cultures (Burr, 1995). For example, common sport fan behaviours may vary in different cultures; therefore, my understanding of sport fan behaviour is based on what is commonly exhibited from a North American perspective. Third, the link between knowledge and social processes is when the interaction between people in social life creates shared knowledge and a common construct of the ‘truth’ (Burr, 1995). For example, with men’s access to sport beginning significantly prior to women’s (and women’s access still being restricted), the dominant ideology arose that men’s knowledge of sport has been taken for granted because they have greater access to the sport. Lastly, the link between knowledge and social action means that the way we see the world influences our perception of how some actions are appropriate and others unthinkable (Burr, 1995). For example, some sport fans may have learned that it is appropriate to ‘boo’ their own team during a poor performance, whereas others would never engage in that type of behaviour and view it as unacceptable. These four premises have important roles in discourse analysis.

As a product of this epistemology, discourse analysis does not merely involve the study of language but also how language contributes to social reality (Phillips &
Jørgensen, 2002). Language is a central and foundational piece of social life (e.g., Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002; Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Wood & Kroger, 2000). In fact, Phillips and Hardy (2002) noted that: “the most important contribution of discourse analysis is that it provides a way to unpack the production of social reality” (p. 82). As an example, DA has been used to uncover many taken-for-granted aspects of language, such as using slang, which requires shared knowledge and context (e.g., Barker & Galasiński, 2001; Cheek, 2004; Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002; Tenorio, 2011; van Dijk, 2001a).

In the above discussion, I identified the inherent complexity in DA but also noted the promise that this concept may hold in better understanding human experiences. Before continuing, it is important to clarify the term ‘discourse’. Discourse analysis assumes that the phenomena of interest in both psychological and social research are created in and through this concept (Wood & Kroger, 2000). With the multiple perspectives regarding DA, it is not surprising that there are multiple definitions of discourse and also a debate as to what is considered to be discourse (Wood & Kroger, 2000). Phillips and Jørgensen (2002) defined discourse in a general manner by noting it is “a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)” (p. 1). Elaborating on this, Phillips and Hardy (2002) viewed discourse as “an interrelated set of texts, the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception that brings an object into being” (p. 3). Flowerdew and Richardson (2018) recognized that discourses can “refer to language use in general” or “specific set of meanings expressed through particular forms and uses which give expression to particular institutions or social groups” (p. 4). Fairclough (2012) used a similar definition when he
referred to discourses as “semiotic ways of construing aspects of the world (physical, social or mental) that can generally be identified with different positions or perspectives of different groups of social actors” (p. 11). ‘Semiotic’ is a commonly used term in DA and refers to the production of meaning, with a focus on how the functions and uses of signs (such as words, symbols and images) are used in activities of social life (Danesi, 2007).

The varying definitions of ‘discourse’ can cause confusion. For example, when searching for articles related to sport and discourse analysis, some researchers used the word ‘discourse’ without ever referring to discourse analysis as theory (e.g., Cushion & Jones, 2006), while others focused heavily on discourse analysis or critical discourse analysis (e.g., McDowell & Schaffner, 2011). Interestingly, authors rarely provided a definition for their use of the term discourse. This is not necessarily uncommon, as Wodak (2008) noted, “the meaning of discourse is closely linked to the particular research context and theoretical approach” (p. 5). This variation of the word ‘discourse’ is somewhat to be expected with the requirement that the reader try to understand how the term is being used in the context of the communication. I interpret McDowell and Schaffner’s (2011) use of discourse to be similar to the definition provided by Fairclough (2012), whereas Cushion and Jones (2006) took a more general approach similar to the Phillips and Jørgensen (2002) definition. For my work, I used Fairclough’s (2012) definition, as I explored how texts that are used in social media environments create meaning, and how those texts produce discourses that may be associated with differing views and understandings of sport fandom.
Machin and Mayr (2012) noted how the term ‘discourse’ has been used in attempts to explain broad and shared societal ideas regarding how the world works and as a result, it is assumed that a discourse contains values, ideas, activities, and identities. As a result, authors (or designers) are seen as making communicative choices (i.e., what words or pictures to use) to encourage the receiver to “place events and ideas into broader frameworks of interpretation that are referred to as ‘discourses’” (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 20). These frameworks trigger associations and, in turn, shape how the receiver is encouraged to process the communicative event (Machin & Mayr, 2012). For example, the use of the term ‘Rider Nation’ may trigger, for fans of the Saskatchewan Roughriders, a sense of belongingness, loyalty, and expansiveness of fan territory that is associated with the discourse of ‘nation’.

Discourses are represented in texts and therefore, texts are “considered a discursive ‘unit’ and a material manifestation of discourse” (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 70). One of the aims of discourse analysis is to distinguish various meanings allotted to texts and how texts can help construct the social world by providing meaning (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). As with the term ‘discourse’, there are different perspectives on what constitutes a text. Oral and written words are commonly included in most definitions. However, other conceptualizations of ‘text’ include nonverbal interactions, artifacts, television programs, symbols, films, and pictures (Cheek, 2004; Fairclough, 2012; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Importantly, texts do not create meaning in isolation (Wodak, 2008). It is through the knowledge of the world and the text itself, the connection with other texts, as well as the production, dissemination, and consumption of the text that allows it to become meaningful (Phillips & Hardy, 2002;
Wodak, 2008). For example, ‘you run like a girl’ or ‘you throw like a girl’ are texts. These utterances can occur frequently between young males with the intention of insulting others they identify as inferior to them in physical abilities. As a result, it contributes to and maintains not only male dominance in sport but also the association of value with men’s sports and athletic abilities instead of women’s. Wodak (2008) summarized the differences between discourse and text as the following: “discourse implies patterns and commonalities of knowledge and structures, [whereas] text is a specific and unique realization of discourse” (p. 6).

2.2 Critical Discourse Studies

There are multiple approaches to DA that differ in methodological and foundational aspects and focus on a range of subjects such as the role of language, treatment of context, data collection, sampling, and stages of analysis (Wood & Kroger, 2000). Some of these approaches include systematic functional linguistics, narrative discourse, mediated discourse analysis, and discursive psychology (Gee & Handford, 2012). Of the various approaches, I used critical discourse studies (CDS) for my research as it allowed me to critique the functionalist perspective that sport solely brings people together. It should be noted that there has been a shift in terminology. Recently, van Dijk (2011, 2013, 2016), as well as Wodak and Meyer (2016), have opted for the term ‘critical discourse studies’ instead of ‘critical discourse analysis’ (CDA). This shift is due to the assumption that CDA is a method, which frequently occurs since the word ‘analysis’ implies methodology (van Dijk, 2013). CDS better reflects the variety of theories,
methods, analysis, and practices a critical discourse researcher may implement (van Dijk, 2013). In compliance with their usage, I will be using the term CDS instead of CDA.²

At its foundation, CDS focuses on being ‘critical’. To elaborate, van Dijk (2013) argued that being critical is a state of mind and not an obvious method of analyzing talk and text. Wodak and Meyer (2016), who followed Sayer’s (2009) work that discussed rationales for critical social science, noted that there are multiple ways of being critical. In the simplest form, ‘critical’ could be to question and dissect the study of society. To expand, it could be critiquing concepts and explaining how social phenomena are false or ignoring significant elements. Going even further would involve explaining why these false beliefs and concepts are held. Wodak (2001) acknowledged that a critical account of discourse requires:

- a theorization and description of both the social processes and structures which give rise to the production of a text, and the social structures and processes within which individuals or groups as social historical subjects create meanings in their interaction with text. (p. 2-3)

‘Critical’ does not need to be synonymous with ‘negative’. That is, any social phenomena can be critically studied, not taken-for-granted, and contested (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Therefore, while exploring exclusionary discourses involve a negative critique, exploring inclusionary discourses can also be viewed as a critical investigation. Furthermore, van Dijk (2013) also suggested that there is no ‘one’ or ‘correct’ method to be used for CDS, but rather appropriate methods must correspond to the context of the project: the research question, goals, aim, and data. Therefore, CDS can refer to methods, theories,

² Of note, Fairclough continues to use the term CDA in his work.
applications, and analyses used by researchers who ‘do’ critical discourse analysis by creating critical goals (i.e., denouncing commonly held beliefs or thoughts) and using appropriate methods to fulfill them (van Dijk, 2013).

CDS is defined as “an interdisciplinary approach to language in use, which aims to advance our understanding of discourse figures in social processes, social structures and social change” (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p. 1). Therefore, CDS can be used to understand how language effectively supports or challenges cultural and social structures and processes (Machin & Mayr, 2012). CDS emphasizes issues of inequality, ideology, and power (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018), and is problem centered by focusing on hidden aspects of language, and disrupting claims of authority (Fairclough et al., 2011; Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018). While some have commented that CDS lacks a consistent theoretical viewpoint (e.g., Machin & Mayr, 2012; Meyer, 2001), the unifying element of the various approaches is a common interest in how discourse structures are used to produce and reproduce or resist social dominance (Fairclough et al., 2011; van Dijk, 2001a). My work followed this approach as I focused on a problem (i.e., how discourses of sport fandom can create inclusion or exclusion), which involved power relations (i.e., how do dominant sport fan ideologies create an exclusionary culture?) Therefore, the use CDS was employed to better understand these dynamic social processes.

CDS links the micro and macro levels of society (e.g., Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; van Dijk, 2001b, 2008a). Communication such as language use and verbal interaction fall in the micro level, and inequality, dominance, and power would be found in the macro level (van Dijk, 2008b). Experiences and everyday interactions that occur at
both micro and macro levels create a collective whole (van Dijk, 2008b). The macro level of society would encompass organizations, communities, and groups, and at the micro level would include interactions occurring between social members. Therefore, discourses associate the ideologies in the societal level with the experiences at the local level. CDS provides a fruitful avenue for understanding sport settings as Meân and Halone (2010) noted: “sport has typically been studied at the micro (individual), meso (organizational), and macro (social and cultural) levels, yet it is the intersections and interconnections of these levels that increasingly holds promise for future search” (p. 255).

Beyond the many features of CDS, there have also been a number of approaches to its’ use put forth. The most often discussed in CDS literature are Wodak and colleagues’ discourse-historical approach, van Dijk’s sociocognitive approach, and Fairclough’s dialectical-relational approach. For the purpose of this dissertation, I will only be discussing van Dijk’s and Fairclough’s approaches, focusing primarily on the portions of their work that I have implemented. I have forgone Wodak’s approach, as it requires triangulation in multiple data sources, and focuses on historical subject and anchoring (Reisigl, 2018), which was not the main purpose of this study. van Dijk’s work was selected as his conceptualizational of ideological discourse structures was used to determine inclusionary and exclusionary discourses as well as for drawing cultural boundaries. Additionally, Fairclough’s (1995a) analytical framework focuses on exploring how the meaning of texts at the individual level results in ideologies and sociocultural practices on the macro level. This proved useful in discovering how fan-produced texts can be embedded with power, values, and beliefs.
What separates van Dijk’s (2001a, 2001b, 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2016) sociocognitive approach from others is the focus on the connection between discourse, cognition and society, or in his terms, the Discourse-Cognition-Society triangle (van Dijk, 2016). While any CDS approach focuses on the relationship between discourse and society, van Dijk believed this relation to be mediated cognitively (whereas Fairclough views ‘discourse practices’ to be the mediator). van Dijk (2018) noted that socio-cognitive discourse studies (SCDS) deals with the “shared social knowledge, as well as the attitudes and ideologies of language users as current participants of the communicative situation and as members of social groups and communities” (p. 28). Of note, van Dijk’s work is extensive, and he has written multiple books and articles on the various aspects of discourse including context, knowledge, power, and ideologies. In an effort to focus on what is applicable to this study, I will solely focus on his work with ideologies and discourse.

While there are many details in van Dijk’s work regarding ideologies, there are a few key points that are most relevant for my research. van Dijk (1998) acknowledged three components to ideologies. First, they reflect a “system of ideas” (p. 15) and therefore relate to thoughts and beliefs. Second, they are social, often associated with the interests or conflicts of groups, organizations, or institutions. Lastly, ideologies are linked with language use through their expression and reproduction in society. van Dijk (1998) defined ideologies as “the basis of social representations shared by members of group… allow[ing] people, as group members, to organize the multitude of social beliefs about what is the case, good or bad, right or wrong, for them, and to act accordingly” (p. 18).
They are often self-serving, providing the ability to have power over other groups (i.e., social dominance).

Ideologies are comprised of shared sociocultural knowledge, as well as group values, norms, and attitudes (van Dijk, 2001b). van Dijk believes that not all ideologies are dominant, and that these systems of belief can be good or bad based on the “consequences of social practices based on them” (p. 14). Therefore, discourses of inclusion can lead to positive or ‘good’ ideologies. These systems of ideas are the basis for social practices and discourses of members of social groups (van Dijk, 2006).

Flowerdew and Richardson (2018) noted that ideologies become accepted through legitimation, which refers to when “a set of beliefs and values become accepted by virtue of the fact that society accepts the authority of those disseminating them” (p. 3).

van Dijk (2001b) elaborated that ideologies are representations that allow group members to self-identify based on shared representations. This self-identification is also used to distinguish themselves from other groups. Therefore, ideologies are able to play a role in representations that create opposition (i.e., us versus them; van Dijk, 2001b). van Dijk (1998, 2006, 2016) acknowledged that discourses have a role to play in the reproduction of ideologies, in that they allow group members to explicitly and directly express their ideologies. This can be explored through ideological discourse structures (van Dijk, 2016). Those strategies include: polarization (e.g., positive in group representation and negative outgroup representation), pronouns (e.g., we/us/our vs. they/theirs/them), identification (i.e., being a member of an ideological group, such as feminists), emphasis of positive self-descriptions and negative other descriptions, activities (i.e., self-identifying with groups based on what they do such as defending or
protecting the group by marginalizing others), norms and values, and interests (i.e., reference to interests of a group, using symbolic notions such as knowledge or status) (van Dijk, 2016). Due to ideological influence on social attitudes (i.e., opinions of group members), ideologies can control the meaning during text production and consumption (van Dijk, 2001b).

Ideologies also dictate what cultural values are relevant for particular groups (van Dijk, 2006). In sport fandom, these values could be loyalty or commitment to a team. Ideologies can also serve to legitimize domination, or they can be used in resistance, which can aid in determining how they contribute to cultural boundaries. van Dijk noted that while ideologies are socially shared, not all members know them equally well. In addition, not all members will identify with an ideological group in the same way, or as strongly, meaning people can be members of these groups to varying extents. These characteristics of ideologies open the connection to cultural boundaries in that Martin (2002) discussed that not all members of a culture are equally participating and may belong to multiple cultures (or subcultures). Therefore, the ideological discourse structures aid in attempting to draw cultural boundaries.

van Dijk’s sociognitive approach has obvious applications to my research questions based on its’ emphasis on ideological structures, micro and macro focus, and recognition of socially shared knowledge among group members. However, Fairclough’s work also has application to my study, as will be explained below. First, Fairclough’s work took a different approach to CDS by focusing on creating social change and transformation (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough et al., 2011). Importantly Fairclough’s approach is text-oriented, meaning that it places an emphasis on
text analysis (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). His perspective also stresses the importance of trans-disciplinary research (Fairclough, 2016).

Fairclough’s (1995a) goal was to explore the connections between social practices, texts, and the wider sociocultural processes, relations, and structures. To analyze discourses with a focus on these relationships, he developed a three-dimensional analytical framework (Fairclough, 1992, 1995a). He noted that to critically investigate discourses of a communicative event, the relationship between three dimensions of that event must be analyzed: text (e.g., spoken or written words), discourse practice (i.e., the process of text production and consumption), and social practice (i.e., the cultural and social contexts that the event is part of) (Fairclough, 1992, 1995a).

Fairclough (1995a, 1995b) explained that the first dimension is text analysis, which focuses on both the meaning and form of texts. Therefore, while linguistic elements such as grammar and vocabulary are analyzed, it also considers ideologies, identities, and relationships found in the texts. Discourse practice is the second dimension, which focuses on how texts are produced and consumed. Phillips and Jørgensen (2002) noted that discursive practices involve authors drawing on discourses that already exist when he or she is creating a text, in addition to how the receivers of texts use available discourses when they are consuming and interpreting texts. For example, I had an interview with a national newspaper for this research, and on their Twitter link to the article, some individuals voiced their displeasure. To insert my own version of ‘mean tweets’ into this dissertation, one user wrote “So some PhD candidate gets butthurt because she wore an opposing team’s jersey to a football game and got mildly heckled, and somehow turns it into a dissertation? Must be nice get ‘Doctor’
before your name for producing this kind of drivel.” The author of this text could draw upon discourses of education or discourses of sport fandom, in attempting to protect their team and fandom by discounting research that is critical towards their fanbase.

Importantly, discourse practices are the mediator between text and social practice. That is, sociocultural practices shape texts but only through the way texts are produced and consumed (i.e., discourse practices).

Lastly, sociocultural practices focus on the more abstract elements of the event, such as the situational context, the wider institutional context, and the even broader societal and cultural contexts. For example, if I were to focus on how sport fan tweets can be inclusive, the situational context could be considered the social media environment, placed in the sociocultural context that sports are considered to have multiple inclusionary characteristics, such as creating a sense of belongingness. This three-dimensional analytical framework is one of the most well-known and discussed frameworks in CDS and has received praise for its elaborate and well-developed structure (e.g., Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). It has also been applied to a variety of disciplines, such as sport and gender studies (e.g., McDowell & Schaffner, 2011), environmental studies (e.g., Qiu, 2013), corporate social responsibility (Brei & Böhm, 2011), and nursing (Smith, 2007). I have chosen to incorporate this analysis due to its clarity and structure.

My work has brought together pieces of van Dijk’s and Fairclough’s approaches. First, my interest in inclusion and exclusion fits with van Dijk’s ideas about ideologies, especially with his view that they are integral in developing an environment of ‘us vs. them’. Second, knowing that ideologies evolve and change aids in exploring how cultural
boundaries may fluctuate. Fairclough’s three-dimensional analytical framework was used as a guide for analysis. My implementation of each approach is below:

Table 2.1

*CDS Approaches*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Concept</th>
<th>Planned usage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>van Dijk</td>
<td>Ideological structures of discourse</td>
<td>To explore how ideologies are representative in texts and how socially shared knowledge among group members can contribute to inclusion and exclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairclough</td>
<td>Three-dimensional analytical framework</td>
<td>To discover how texts (written words) create meaning on a sociocultural level (and vice versa)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Culture

Culture and CDS are compatible concepts that have been implemented in this study. It has been noted “people do not make meaning just as individuals. They do so as part of social groups which agree on, contest, or negotiate norms and values about how language ought to be used and what things ought to mean” (Gee & Handford, 2012, p. 5). Alasuutari (1995) also noted that cultural practices that individuals engage in are adopted through language and play a role in the processes of becoming a socialized member of a culture. Additionally, Taylor (2013) suggested discourse analysis should be used to investigate a particular culture, to research identity, and to investigate the practices and interactions of ordinary social life.

While the concept of culture is present in sport fan literature, it requires more academic attention. Similar to ‘discourses’, culture has multiple definitions. Martin (2002) said culture refers to “patterns of interpretation composed of the meanings
associated with various cultural manifestations, such as stories, rituals, formal and informal practices, jargon, and physical arrangements” (p. 330). Whereas Alasuutari (1995) noted that it is “a way of life or outlook adopted by a community or a social class” (p. 25). Inglis and Hughson (2003) provided a detailed explanation of six identifying elements of culture: it includes patterns of beliefs, values and ideas that are shared among a particular group, each group has its own culture which allows for the differentiation between groups, it is both meanings and meaningful (i.e., people in a group are able to make sense of and respond knowledgeably and emotionally through meaning), artefacts and symbols represent the beliefs, values and ideas of a group, it is learned and lastly, it is arbitrary (i.e., culture is not a product of nature, but rather human activity and therefore it can change). My work calls upon Martin’s (2002) definition as it reflects that there are patterns of meaning-making but they may not necessarily be shared amongst all members of a culture. Martin noted that some researchers define culture as shared but in their findings, it appears that it is not always the case.

It has been noted that studies exploring culture often look to reveal how social and everyday life is facilitated through meanings (Alasuutari, 1995; Lima Neto, 2014). This emphasis on meaning is central to the concept of culture. From a sociological perspective, ‘meaning’ refers to the symbolism associated with activities or objects (Alasuutari, 1995). For example, wearing a certain team’s jersey would symbolize fandom to that team. Alasuutari also noted that “realities of the everyday only exist to us through meanings; they do not exist as such, independently of people’s interpretations and understanding” (p. 29). Therefore, meanings are central to our understanding of the world and how we interact with it.
Culture is an applicable concept for my work as it is used in both sociological and management disciplines. From a sociological approach, researchers would seek to explore the connection between culture and social actions, structures, and relationships (Inglis & Hughson, 2003; Lima Neto, 2014). Furthermore, Lima Neto (2014) noted, “cultural sociologists are more likely to stress the centrality of meaning in the production and the reproduction of social life” (p. 929). Cultural sociology also encourages the analysis of understanding culture through social interactions (Lima Neto, 2014). From a management perspective, work has focused on organizational culture (e.g., Martin, 2002) and consumer culture (e.g., Crawford, 2004; Smart, 2007). Importantly, Crawford (2004) noted that “being a fan is primarily a consumer act and hence fans can be seen first and foremost as consumers” (p.4), to which Wenner (2013) drew the conclusion that consumer culture is fused with sporting identities and explains how fans interact.

Inglis and Hughson (2003) argued that culture is everywhere; in the everyday practices and ordinary ways in which people think, act, and feel. Additionally, Crawford (2004) explained that due to the assumption of ‘everyday life’ being ordinary and monotonous, the patterns of these everyday experiences have gone relatively overlooked. Alasuutari (1995) added that it is assumed that everyday life does not involve anything of symbolic importance, yet he argued that meaning is present in everyday and social life, and therefore these practices should not be considered in isolation from questions of politics and power. My work has focused on the everyday interactions and behaviours of sport fandom such as casual comments and taken-for-granted fan behaviours on Twitter, in addition to the ‘exceptional’ type of experiences, including reactions to player
transgressions, such as when Kevin Pillar (Blue Jays center fielder) called an opposing pitcher a homophobic slur.

Specifically, I have implemented the concept of cultural boundaries. While it has been argued that fans (both sport and non-sport related) are ‘prosumers’ who both consume (e.g., watch and purchase) and produce (e.g., through online discussions and rituals at sport games) sport (Crawford, 2004; Gibbons & Dixon, 2010), Heere and James (2007) noted that fans “are members of an organization who are committed to its existence” (p. 323). It is then possible to view fans as part of the organizational culture as members and consumers.

Cultures are often viewed as being separate and distinct. For example, Fiske (1992) noted in regard to popular fan culture, that boundaries of what is considered part of fandom and what is not are distinct and sharply drawn. These boundaries of fan communities are strongly guarded and divided. He noted that fans debate about what characteristics allow someone to cross over the boundary into ‘true’ or ‘authentic’ fandom. From a different perspective, Martin (2002) argued that cultures can overlap causing blurred edges and members to draw boundaries for distinction. Martin’s suggestion of drawing cultural boundaries stemmed from problems with research focusing on organizational culture. Often, these studies assumed that cultural development was associated with physical location (i.e., a warehouse culture or an information technology company culture), that people are carriers of culture, and that all people who hold a certain job title (e.g., administrative assistants) are automatically participants of that culture (Martin, 2002). Martin noted that individuals who may belong to the same category might have different and subjective experiences. Therefore, the
process of defining a culture by physical location or jobs does not provide an accurate picture nor the intensity of participation in that culture.

2.3.1 Cultural boundaries.

Martin (2002) conceptualized cultural boundaries in five ways. First, they are moveable. This means that they are not confined to a particular geographic location. For example, a Saskatchewan Roughrider fan living in Vancouver could still be part of the ‘Rider Nation’ culture. Second, they fluctuate, meaning that cultures can change over time. For example, while sport fan culture has often been associated with masculinity, Meier, Strauss, and Riedl (2015) and Pope (2017) found that feminization of sport audiences is occurring (i.e., cultural values are shifting). Third, they are permeable. That is, people can move in and out of cultures as well as belong to numerous and intersecting collectivities that are embedded in a cultural identity. This corresponds to Heere and James’ (2007) Multiple In Group Model, as they noted that sport fans have external identities that intersect with their fan identities. Fourth, they are blurred. Boundaries are negotiated and are not objectively defined and agreed upon by all. For example, multiple studies have suggested that women are less likely to be highly identified fans (i.e., possess knowledge, have a strong sense of attachment, attend games, and demonstrate loyalty to the team) in comparison to men (e.g., Dietz-Uhler, Harrick, End, & Jacquemotte, 2000; James & Ridinger, 2002; Ware & Kowalski, 2012). Yet, in Sveinson and Hoeber’s (2015) work they found that women’s perceptions of the foundational requirement of being a fan involved positive fanship, wearing team colours, and having a love for the game. By exploring different viewpoints, it is possible to gain insight into the how cultural boundaries can be blurred. Of note, subculture boundaries are also blurred.
and individuals who belong to certain subcultures may invest in keeping certain boundaries intact and disregard others. For instance, a fan who views themselves as part of the ‘highly identified’ subculture could strongly reinforce the need for knowledge and attendance, yet disregard the need for purchasing merchandise. Fifth and last, they are dangerous. Since boundaries are blurry instead of secured, people can become uncomfortable. As a result, they will try to reinforce boundaries so that they are solid, impenetrable, and clear, becoming a source of safety and security. This notion that boundaries are reinforced and undermined simultaneously is the root of their cultural production.

Martin (2002) noted that when a researcher attempts to draw boundaries, they must consider which stakeholders are included. These decisions not only influence the theoretical element but also whose interests are represented in a study. Additionally, in attempting to draw boundaries, there is no such thing as absolute objectivity; subjective and varied experiences must be included in understanding the culture. This subjectivity allows for multiple viewpoints and considers the variations of intensity in which people participate in a culture. The other benefit of including subjectivity in culture is that it moves away from the notion that culture is unitary and shared equally by all involved.

Martin (2002) further stated that drawing boundaries could occur by focusing on who is inside and outside of the culture. An etic perspective explores who is or is not an outsider to the culture based on objective criteria. An emic outlook would use subjective criteria, viewing culture as participant-defined and determine who is in or out based on their perspectives. Beyond the insider/outsider status of individuals, Martin also suggests that what (e.g., concepts, ideologies, or behaviours) is in and out should also be
considered. In order to be able to draw boundaries on a culture, a full range of manifestations must be explored.

Based on these ideas, Martin (2002) discussed how cultural boundaries could be produced. Focusing on culture as a subjective term recognizes that the edges are socially constructed. Due to the fact that not all members of a culture are in complete agreement, several social constructions can co-exist. In studying the production of cultural boundaries, Martin suggested that by asking individuals what ideas or things are part of their view of culture, it is possible to understand a collective consensus, a subculture consensus, and where there is little to no consensus. While I did not speak to individuals for my study, I did compile tweets that demonstrated a variety of viewpoints, in an effort to demonstrate the varying levels of consensus.

As noted, Fiske (1992) suggested fans draw boundaries based on authenticity. It is the concept of authenticity that allows for discrimination between cultural boundaries. Martin’s (2002) perspective of cultural boundaries acknowledges that they may not be fixed, impenetrable, and permanent. While sport fandom distinguishes those fans who are highly identified, committed, and involved from those who are not by emphasizing authenticity as a cultural boundary, it is important for research to explore multiple and varying boundaries in fandom based on discourses that are produced by fans. This approach recognizes the benefit of exploring cultural manifestations, as it can be insightful by providing “an in-depth understanding of the patterns of mean making that link these manifestations together, sometimes in harmony, and sometimes in bitter conflicts between groups, and sometimes in webs of ambiguity, paradox, and contradiction” (Martin, 2002, p. 3).
A further benefit of using Martin’s (2002) cultural boundaries approach is avoiding the dichotomy that is often found in sport fan classification. Research has often separated fans based on levels of authenticity, involvement, and identification (e.g., Amato et al., 2005; Wann, Melnick, Russell, & Pease, 2001). That is, an individual is either a ‘real’ fan or he or she is not. Crawford (2003) also critiques the typologies found in many sport fan studies as the rigid distinction may force certain behaviours and characteristics into constricting categories. This framework recognizes that sport fans may be more or less participatory in the culture, instead of viewing their participation as full (authentic) or non-existent. This also allows those individuals who may be marginalized to identify their place within the culture. Through cultural boundaries, I have been able to explore how discourses are plural, being sources of inclusion and exclusion, at times, simultaneously.

Culture also compliments critical discourse studies (CDS). As mentioned, it is suggested that CDS should be used in conjunction with other concepts (e.g., culture) and disciplines (i.e., management and sociology) to further develop the theoretical and methodological aspects of each area (Fairclough, 2016). Additionally, Taylor (2013) echoed Martin’s (2002) statements that boundaries of any cultural group are inevitably permeable. As a result, while researchers are attracted to studying specific cultures, they recognize that cultures are also divided and complicated (Taylor, 2013). Taylor (2013) also noted, “discourse analysis allows the researcher to explore the complexity, contradictions, and conflicts rather than make general claims about a culture” (p. 55). Moreover, using van Dijk’s (2001a) ideological discourse structures (e.g., polarization, pronouns, emphasis of positive self-descriptions and negative other descriptions, and
norms and values) fits well with cultural boundaries as it focuses on how ideologies play a role in creating boundaries.

I used two cases to study cultural boundaries. The first focused on how fans use language to maintain or challenge cultural norms and behaviours. The second explored how consumer responses to an athlete’s transgression can reinforce or challenge the culture of homophobia in sport contexts. For these studies, I focused on how culture is manifested in texts. Culture was explored through meanings assigned to norms, behaviours, values, and identities. These four aspects were present in many tweets, and the contrasting views created a space to investigate how boundaries are drawn. Additionally, both studies illustrate that different groups may have their own culture, which allows for the differentiation between groups based on ideological viewpoints (Inglis & Hughson, 2003).

2.4 Sport Fans

The landscape of sport fan research is diverse. Studies have focused on sociological topics such as gender (e.g., Esmonde, Cooky & Andrews, 2015; Sveinson & Hoeber, 2016), race (e.g., Sorek & White, 2016), violence (e.g., Lewis, 2007; Ward, 2002), and power (e.g., Crawford, 2004), whereas management research has explored topics such as consumption (e.g., Trail & James, 2001; Seo & Green, 2008), marketing (e.g., Williams & Chinn, 2010), and sponsorship (e.g., Hunt, Bristol, & Bashaw, 1999). My work has sought to incorporate both sociological and management perspectives. In order to limit the focus to relevant literature in both fields, I will only be discussing sport fans in relation to culture, identity, and inclusive and exclusive elements in fandom.
2.4.1 Fan cultures.

Duits, Zwaan, and Reijders’ (2014) book about fandom, they acknowledged that there must be a critical rethinking of the significance and function of fan cultures to continue to challenge and develop the field of fan studies. They provided three guiding questions for the content of their book: what is a fan? What is the current relationship between fans and producers? Where does contemporary fandom manifest itself? These critical questions need to be integrated in sport fan research as well, to continue to develop the field and advance knowledge of sport fan culture. Within this book, it was noted that fan communities are places of cultural production in which norms are created, and there are organized ways of recognizing and rewarding members (Lee, 2014). These communities are also settings in which fans interact with cultural texts and other fans (Lee, 2014). Of note, only two chapters in this book focused on sport fandom (cf. Becker, Katusky, & Widholm, 2014; Redhead, 2014).

While culture is often not the main focus of sport fan studies, it is present both implicitly and explicitly. Some sport fan studies mention culture only to provide context and justifications or explanations. Cleland’s (2014) and Cleland and Cashmore’s (2014, 2016) work discussed how racism and homophobia are part of European football culture. Additionally, Jones (2008) also noted that there is a sexist culture within the same context. The use of such theories as hegemonic masculinity also sheds light on male dominance in sport fan culture. Other studies, including Dixon (2012), Norman (2014), and Hughson and Free (2006), focus overtly on culture. While not all studies explicitly discuss culture or use that term specifically, the concept is present in some sport fan studies.
Culture plays an important role in sport fandom. Crawford and Gosling (2004) noted in their study that an introduction into a fan base requires that an individual adopts the social norms as well as accepts and learns the culture in order to be part of the group. Palmer and Thompson (2007) explored what norms and values were part of an Australian football fans’ group identity and culture using social capital theory, which explains how individuals who participate in groups and social networks use resources of those relationships (Bourdieu, 1986; Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). They noted that drinking, wearing a uniform (i.e., specific shirts created by a highly-identified group of fans), and being an ‘in your face’ type fan is part of this particular fan group’s culture and identity (Palmer & Thompson, 2007).

Back, Crabbe, and Soloman (2001) recognized that sport fan cultures establish criteria such as loyalty, attending games, knowledge, and drinking to determine authenticity of fandom. They implemented Bourdieu’s (1986) theory of cultural capital, which refers to how culture is not just about community but also socially hierarchic, in that there is competition between fans over knowledge and status. Back et al. (2001) found that sport fans can distinguish themselves as ‘authentic’ compared to those who do not adopt these norms. Amato, Okleshen Peters, and Shao (2005) explored NASCAR fan culture through a quantitative survey. They also suggested that authenticity is essential in fan cultures and therefore, categorized NASCAR fans into three subcultures: casual, moderate, or hardcore. Those who were moderate and hardcore were viewed as authentic, as they had a more committed relationship to NASCAR, were bound to the sport from emotional, intellectual, and behavioural aspects, and were financially, socially, and psychological committed.
Further, there has been a body of work by Wann and colleagues that has explored national cultural differences in sport fandom. These studies focused on fan behaviours, level of fandom, team identification, and socialization process and were based in various geographical locations, including: Greece (Theodorakis & Wann, 2008), the United States (Wann et al., 2001), Australia (Melnick & Wann, 2010), Norway (Melnick & Wann, 2004), and most recently, Qatar (Theodorakis, Wann, Al-Emadi, Lianopoulos, & Foudouki, 2017). While this work is growing our understanding of sport fans globally, it lacks a qualitative perspective and has chosen to focus on pre-defined elements of sport fan culture (i.e., socialization, identification, and behaviours).

Few studies have explored the culture of sport fandom in depth. Dixon’s (2012) work placed a significant emphasis on culture when he explored the origins of European football fandom. He used Bourdieu’s theory of habitus, which explains that an individual’s actions, thoughts, motivations, and perceptions are a manifestation influenced by culture, tradition, and history (Bourdieu, 1977). Dixon (2012) explored the findings in regards to fandom genesis, which he noted is “serving to explore the inner workings of those dominant modes of primary teaching (e.g., kin or peer groups) that are fundamental to the origins of practice specific knowledge” (p. 338). The findings demonstrated that fathers were the primary influence in the consumption of football fandom knowledge and in supporting a particular team. Therefore, fandom is learned from the family with parents, fathers in particular, passing on knowledge and traditions. Other sources of influence included a spouse or a friend, computer games, and media. He concluded that the origins of fandom were described as “slow processes of autonomisation involving consumption of knowledge, discourse and social norms that
were transferred in an active and reciprocal way by significant others” (p. 345). He also noted that when individuals come in contact with others of diverse cultural backgrounds, they could change their behaviour. For example, a football fan learned from his or her father that it is important to know who the players are on the team. If that fan also began partaking in fantasy football, they may go beyond knowing the players to knowing their statistics.

In addition, Hughson and Free (2006) used Willis’ theories of cultural commodities to explore European football fans. They recognized that sport is a product but it is also an experience that individuals can give meaning to. They explained that a team is a cultural commodity as they are “a commercialized product whose meaning depends on fans being able to see their own history as supporters embodied within the club” (Hughson & Free, 2006, p. 79-80). They questioned how fans could offer ‘material resistance’ to teams when professional sport is built upon dictating that a fan is a consumer and they must continue to consume in order to be a fan. They found that by resisting corporate intrusion into a soccer club in England, fans demonstrated shared meanings of viewing soccer as an important cultural element of the local community.

Norman (2014) explored members’ posting in blogs related to ice hockey. He found that there is a relationship between hockey as Canadian culture and the masculine culture of hockey. Canadian culture was present in that there was a dominant Canadian-based hockey culture, and hockey has played a role in the country’s international growth. Canadian hockey culture was often associated with whiteness, heterosexuality, and masculinity. Norman noted that this online blog community was a metaphorical pub in that it exhibited masculinity that is associated with hockey and sports bars. He also noted
that this space is where the historical cultural meaning of hockey can be challenged, as members are looking to express group affiliation with individual identities.

Dixon’s (2012), Norman’s (2014) and Hughson and Free’s (2006) work have been some of the few studies that explicitly focused on culture from a sociological perspective. Building off their work and incorporating Martin’s (2002) management approach to culture, I have explored how culture is created, maintained, and/or resisted for fans of a single team, through investigating fan behaviours, norms, values, and ideas, in addition to exploring reactions to an athlete’s transgression. Furthermore, Dixon (2012) focused on how fans becomes socialized into culture, whereas I explored how sport fan-produced texts create discourses that result in cultures that are inclusive, exclusive, or simultaneously both. This work has created a building block for future research regarding the fan culture of professional sport teams.

2.4.2 Identity.

The concepts of culture and identity are distinct but intertwined. Identity relates to the individual-level and is the “categorization of the self as an occupant of a role and the incorporation, of the self, of the meanings and expectations associated with that role and its performance” (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 225). Social identity, on the other hand, relates to the group-level concept (similar to culture), as it refers to an individual’s knowledge of belongingness to a particular social group (Stets & Burke, 2000). Identity and culture overlap in that a certain identity could be used to refer to the culture of people or common aspects of a social category (Stryker & Burke, 2000). For example, the identity of ‘hooligan’ (i.e., typically white, young males in the lower class who engage in deviant behaviours from fighting to malicious damage) often refers to the culture of European
football fans. ‘Highly-identified’ fans can refer to a culture of authenticity or fanaticism. Taylor (2013) acknowledged the relation of culture and identity in that people within a culture can also belong to specific groups through their identities:

People do not live in neatly bounded, exclusive communities with their own entirely separate languages and social knowledge. They understand each other, and even more importantly, they are members of multiple groups simultaneously, or, to put it another way, they have multiple identities. (p. 22)

From this, we can also understand that people may be speaking from different positions at any given time. While a female fan could have identities as a woman, a baseball fan, a wife, a mother, or an athlete, she may be calling upon a few of those identities at certain times. For example, while attending a baseball game with her girlfriends, she may not be displaying her identity as a mother. While engaging in ‘sport fan culture’ not all of one’s identities may be on display.

Sport fandom can be central to one’s identity and provides a membership to a social group that results in similar patterns of behavior (Delaney & Madigan, 2009). Sport fan studies have focused on various topics of identity such as scales to measure team identification (e.g., Theodorakis, Dimmock, Wann, & Barlas, 2010; Wann & Branscombe, 1993), in-group favouritism and out-group differentiation (e.g., Platow et al., 1999; Wann & Grieve, 2005), the stages, models, and typologies of identification (e.g., Funk & James, 2001; Gwinner & Swanson, 2003; Lock, Taylor, Funk, & Darcy, 2012), as well as BIRGing (basking in reflected glory) and CORFing (cutting of reflected failure) (e.g., End, Dietz-Uhler, Harrick, & Jacquemotte, 2002; Kimble & Cooper, 1992; Wann & Branscombe, 1990; Ware & Kowalski, 2012). Of note, social identity theory is
commonly used in sport fan identification studies (e.g., Dietz-Uhler & Murrell, 1999; Fink, Parker, Brett, & Higgins, 2009; Gwinner & Swanson, 2003; Jones, 2000). The basic understanding of this theory is that there are social categories (for example gender, age, nationality, sport teams) into which people may naturally fall (based on objective factors such as age), but also feel as though they belong (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995).

Often, inclusionary and exclusionary practices contribute to fans’ sense (or lack thereof) of belongingness (i.e., being part of the culture) to social groups. Bernstein, Sacco, Young, Hugenberg, and Cook (2010) noted with the importance of belonging, there is a focus on how individuals may be included or excluded from these groups.

When exploring interpersonal behaviour of two different Polynesian groups in New Zealand, Graves and Graves (1985) outlined forms of behavioural styles which included inclusion and exclusion. Thomas and Dyall (1999) explained Graves and Graves’ (1985) conceptualization of inclusion as “social behaviour that emphasizes a sense of belonging, membership or solidarity among people by incorporating them into a group” (p. 123). This would include behaviours such as invitations to join activities, greetings, and welcomes (Thomas & Dyall, 1999). They also found that the group boundaries were typically flexible and not strictly defined (Thomas & Dyall, 1999). Exclusion referred to “social behaviour encompassing solitary activities or a one-to-one intensive interaction or relationship between two people” (Thomas & Dyall, 1999, p. 123). These behaviours included rejecting or ignoring people, and assessing the suitability of an individual before allowing (or not) them to join the group (Thomas & Dyall, 1999). While Graves and Graves’ (1985) work was not sport related, they explain the fundamental premises of inclusion and exclusion from a behavioral and social perspective.
2.4.3 Inclusionary practices.

Sport fan research has found that in-group favouritism and out-groups degradation exist (e.g., Branscombe, Wann, Noel, & Coleman, 1993; Platow et al., 1999; Wann & Grieve, 2005). More recently, Lock and Funk (2016) created the Multiple In-group Identity Framework that demonstrated that sport fans could belong to multiple in-groups. Essentially, being part of in-groups allows an individual to gain a sense of belonging and experience inclusion (Lock & Funk, 2016). Heere and James (2007) took a slightly different approach and explained how external group identities could influence identification with a team. They acknowledged that demographic identities such as geographic location, ethnicity, gender, sex, and social class, along with organizational identities, such as occupation, religions, and political affiliation, can contribute to a fan’s sense of identification with a team (Heere & James, 2007). The multiple identities found in these studies implies that there are not only multiple ways to have an identity with a team but with other subcultures (e.g., highly identified fans or female sport fans). Importantly, sport fans can gain social connections to others through team identification (Wann, Waddill, Polk, & Weaver, 2011).

While these studies allude to the idea of boundaries, the problem is that the characteristics or behaviours of these groups can be viewed as fixed without recognizing the fluctuation of identities. Additionally, there is little recognition that identities are socially constructed and therefore, can be influenced by or influence culture. Common rituals, behaviours, characteristics, and the multiple identities of sport fans should not be considered independent of culture. Furthermore, these studies only focused on how identities could result in being part of multiple in-groups, focusing on the identities that
lead to inclusion in sport fan culture without exploring how multiple out-groups could also exist. Additionally, these studies are focusing on ‘who’ is part of the in-group, based on identity, as opposed to ‘what’ (i.e., concepts, actions, behaviours). Martin (2002) noted that the ‘what’ part of a culture is often more important and insightful than ‘who’. Further, bringing in van Dijk’s (2001b, 2006) focus on ideological discourse structures can help focus on ‘what’ is part of the culture. In using the concept of cultural boundaries, I have explored how the edges of a culture are moveable, fluctuating, permeable, blurred, and dangerous (Martin, 2002). This recognizes the fluidity of identities that can cut across multiple boundaries. To build upon these studies, my work explains how multiple borders can co-exist in a culture and how sport fans can be included or excluded in various parts of a sport fan culture of a particular team in a social media environment.

Inclusion is relatively paradoxical. That is, in order to try to be inclusive, discursive practices may inevitably result in exclusion towards others. For example, if the Blue Jays only promoted ticket discounts in English, all their other fans who do not speak or read English would be excluded from receiving this benefit. Exclusion can be obvious or have more defined edges. Yet, it can also be subtle in that deconstructing what is not obvious at first glance can lead to exclusion. McGovern (2016) found this contradiction in her work regarding online baseball forums. She acknowledged that baseball has been constructed as a sport that is available to most, as it models diversity and community. However, she noted, “these celebratory narratives frequently eclipse baseball’s role in excluding and/or marginalizing non-White groups” (p. 334), in that racial inequality is rarely discussed in online baseball spaces (i.e., blogs, forums) unless it is about
overcoming inequality, such as when Jackie Robinson broke the colour barrier. Therefore, my work has explored the plurality of discourses, that is how they can be inclusive, exclusive, simultaneously both, and contradictory.

2.4.4 Exclusionary practices.

Exclusionary practices can be found in the literature and observed in sport organizations. For example, when an Anaheim Ducks fan (NHL) attempted to purchase tickets for the first playoff game between the Ducks and Nashville Predators in Nashville, they received a message on Ticketmaster.com, which stated: “at the request of the Nashville Predators, tickets are not available for sale in your area for this game” (BarDown, 2017). It is a common tactic for NHL teams to put up location-based blocks on their tickets (BarDown, 2017). This strategy could allude to the culture of the team being based on geographical location (i.e., people in Anaheim are more likely to be Ducks fans than Predators fans).

From a sociological perspective, Crawford (2004) acknowledged the presence of exclusionary characteristics that accompany sport fandom. He noted that fan communities could be exclusionary based on rivalries but also gender, ethnicity, class, and disability. If a team’s followers represent a symbol of heterosexual, white masculinity, individuals who do not fit that community can be excluded, such as women and racial/ethnic minorities. As well, sport fans may introduce others whom they know (typically of similar social or cultural backgrounds) into fandom. It then becomes up to the individual who was initiated to adapt to the social norms of the group. Any resistance to the norms could result in being marginalized or having restricted access to the group.
To illustrate, if a fan is invited to a Super Bowl party and he or she spent more time on their phone than watching the game, they may not be invited back.

These exclusionary characteristics have been noted in some sport fan research. One of the more prominent is gender, as the majority of female sport fan studies have found that they experience marginalization (Ben-Porat, 2009; Crawford & Gosling, 2004; Esmonde et al., 2015; Gosling, 2007; Hoeber & Kerwin, 2013; Jones, 2008; Pope, 2011; Sveinson & Hoeber, 2016; Mewett & Toffoletti, 2012). This is due to the idea that females are assumed to attend sporting events to socialize and they possess little knowledge of sport, and therefore, display characteristics and behaviours that are not congruent with male sport fans (who are considered the norm) (Crawford & Gosling, 2004; Dietz-Uhler, Harrick, End, & Jacquemotte, 2000; Gosling, 2007; Hoeber & Kerwin, 2013; Pope, 2011; Pope & Williams, 2011). These studies have also found that women are often questioned about their fandom, experienced sexism, and are treated differently by both men and women by requiring to prove their fandom instead of accepting it without question (Crawford & Gosling, 2004; Gosling, 2007; Jones, 2008; Pope, 2011; Sveinson & Hoeber, 2016).

While research on female fans is increasing, very little research has focused on sport fans and race. Cleland (2014) and Cleland and Cashmore’s work (2014, 2016) has explored the topic of racism in regards to sport fans in European football contexts. The similarities of these studies involve the presence of Islamophobia among fans, casual racism (i.e., not an intent to be racist but comments are made that reference race), and the recognition of racism as deeply rooted in European football culture (Cleland, 2014; Cleland & Cashmore, 2014, 2016). Cleland and Cashmore’s (2014) study sought input
from fans to address the racist issue in this culture, and they found that fans sought
greater action from the governing bodies to implement racial equality initiatives. These
studies demonstrate that race can be an exclusionary element in sport fandom.

Even fewer studies have explored social class. The little research that has been
done has found that being a fan was positively correlated with socioeconomic status
(Wann, et al., 2001). Furthermore, Eitzen (1996) discussed that those with lower-income
are less likely to be able to attend live sporting events due to cost. Crawford’s (2004)
summary of European research found similar results to Eitzen (1996), in that working-
class fans are getting priced out of attending due to commercialization. Importantly,
Crawford (2004) also noted that sport fan studies regarding social class are lacking in
North American contexts.

These studies acknowledged that identity plays a role in how fans interact with
each other, how their multiple identities can affect their fandom, and how these identities
can make them part of the in-group or exclude them as part of the out-group. The very
idea of multiple in-groups relates to the concept that cultural boundaries are not fixed. It
may be these fixed and varied identities that could place someone in the culture and
another individual outside of it.

Considering the literature discussed above, it is possible to understand how
different sport fan ideologies are present. The power of ideologies is that they may
influence the understanding of discourses as fact (McGannon, 2017). In the context of
sport fandom, the dominant ideology is based on adopting behaviours and norms
associated with authenticity, which tends to be synonymous with traits of highly
identified fans. These fans possess strong loyalty, knowledge, and high levels of
consumption (Amato et al., 2005; Fink, Trail, & Anderson, 2002; Funk & James, 2004). Research also demonstrates that those who do not display these qualities explicitly or do not resemble an average sport fan (heterosexual male) are assumed to be inauthentic (e.g., Jones, 2008; Sveinson & Hoeber, 2016). There are fan typologies and models that recognize multiple ways of expressing sport fandom. However, acknowledging that multiple types of fan performances exist does not demonstrate the complexity in which fans navigate, maintain, and resist cultural norms. This work seeks to add new knowledge in understanding inclusionary and exclusionary behaviours by critically exploring discourses through ideologies.

As mentioned, sport fan studies have explored inclusion and exclusion by focusing on authentic fans from inauthentic ones (e.g., Back et al., 2001; Wann et al., 2001). Further, much research has explored only the extremely dedicated fans. What is missing from this body of work is exploring how sport fan related discourses are given meaning, how they become significant at the macro level, and how they create sport fan ideologies that result in inclusion or exclusion. My work has explored how fans, in their everyday social media activities, produce these discourses through language.

2.5 Twitter

Twitter falls under the umbrella of social media, which is “a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of User Generated Content” (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010, p. 61). Web 2.0 refers to the change in the way software developers and end users were using the Internet, specifically in more participatory and collaborative manners (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Murthy (2012) noted that social media differs from
traditional media because it involves collaboration, fosters social interaction, and involves sharing digital media.

Bruns and Moe (2014) recognized that Twitter interactions occur on micro, meso, and macro levels. Micro level interactions include @mentions or @replies, in which an individual is tagging another user (using the ‘@’ symbol followed by the username). This thread reflects an in-person conversation, with a small number of people addressing each other. The meso level includes follower networks, which involve ‘personal publics’. That is, the primary audience of a tweet is the user’s followers (which supports the foundational concept of Twitter). The macro level encompasses hashtags, which can be used to extend visibility of a tweet to a larger audience. Hashtags also can express desire to communicate on a particular topic, and be part of a conversation with others of shared interest (e.g., #BlueJays). Of note, @mentions can also be macro level without the expectation of reply, such as when mentioning or drawing attention to a celebrity or brand (e.g., @BlueJays or @KPIllAR4).

Twitter is a type of social media that involves microblogging. Murthy (2012) defined microblogging as an:

internet-based service in which (1) users have a public profile in which they broadcast short public messages updates whether they are directed to specific user(s) or not, (2) messages publicly aggregated together across users, and (3) users can decide whose messages wish to receive, but not necessarily who can receive their messages; this is in distinction to most social networks where following each other is bi-directional. (p. 1061)
As Murthy noted, Twitter is different than some other social media. Compared to Facebook, which facilitates more interaction between users through friend requests, posting pictures, and creating status updates, Twitter primarily involves one-way communication (although conversations can occur) (Davenport, Bergman, Bergman, & Fearrington, 2014; Zappavigna, 2012). Zappavigna (2011) added that there is no collective expectation to respond to a tweet. Additionally, Twitter has a restriction of 280 characters (140 characters originally), which makes it unique to other sites that have unlimited space for content. Filo, Lock, and Karg (2015) recognized social media as separate from Web 2.0 to address the different platforms used: blogs, online communities, social networking sites, microblogs, and discussion forums.

Even though Twitter is less commonly used than other social media platforms such as Facebook, LinkedIn, and Instagram, it remains influential, as public sentiment to daily life or major events can be assessed based on trending topics or comments (Billings, 2014). In Canada, 42% of adults have a Twitter account (CBC News, 2018). Twitter also has higher proportion of wealthy individuals (compared to other platforms), and Canadians are twice as likely to have a Twitter account compared to Americans (CBC News, 2018). The Pew Research Center (2016) stated that 23% of adult Internet users used Twitter in 2014 and is slightly more popular among men than women (3% difference). They also noted that Twitter was more popular among those under 50 and who possessed a college education. This is different from Facebook who has seen a significant increase in users 65 years and older, and is more popular among women (Pew Research Center, 2016).
2.5.1 Social media and Twitter in sport contexts.

Research has shown social media plays an important role in building successful relationships with consumers (Pronschinske, Groza, & Walker, 2012; Stavros, Meng, Westberg, & Farrelly, 2014; Williams, Chinn, & Suleiman, 2014). Filo and colleagues (2015) noted that consumers interact on social media at a number of stages during the consumption process, including decision making, word of mouth, and information searching. Social media has also been found to provide consumers with more power to disrupt the top-down processes of communication by becoming producers of content (Allison & Pegoraro, 2018; KhosraviNik & Unger, 2016). While there is extensive research on social media in relation to sport, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to speak to this entire body of work. Therefore, I will place focus on relevant studies relating to Twitter.

While there are many topics shared on Twitter, sport is quite prominent, as it is a popular medium for fans. Lee, Palsetia, Narayanan, Patwary, Agrawal, and Choudhary (2011) classified Twitter’s trending topics into general categories and found that “sports” was by far the most common. These sport consumers use Twitter for immediate interaction and discussions over a sport’s season regarding sporting events and breaking news (Reichart Smith & Smith, 2012). Online interactions and behaviours among sport fans can be studied via Twitter as it is a space to express and share current emotions such as excitement for upcoming games, expectations, joy of success, and pain of loss (Reichart Smith & Smith, 2012). Studies have suggested that Twitter is an ideal format for sport fans, as it provides the ability to extend their identities and experiences and
provides easily accessible information about their favourite players and teams (Stavros et al., 2014; Watanabe, Yan, & Soebbing, 2015).

Some sport studies that incorporate Twitter are particularly relevant for my work. For example, Watanabe and colleagues (2015) explored Twitter accounts of all MLB teams over a year period (2013-2014) from a demand theory standpoint. Through creating a linear regression model, they found that individual games did not tend to impact the followers of an MLB team, but winning streaks, playoffs, and competing in the World Series created more followers. This finding suggests that team performance plays a significant role in fan interest and engagement on Twitter.

O’Hallarn, Shapiro, Wittkower, Ridinger, and Hambrick (in press) studied Twitter as a public sphere (i.e., an accessible space for all to create opinions with freedom of expression, and debate), exploring how sport-themed hashtags can generate public opinion. They acknowledged that hashtags allow sport consumers to share ideas in real time and encourages participation. While the authors noted that a tweet on its own may not relate to the public sphere, tweets that discuss “events that relate to sport, but that also touch issues of societal concern, can collectively display markers of the public sphere, with evidence of rational-critical debate, the emergence of societal norms, and the power to form and influence public opinion” (p. 3). They determined that hashtags are essentially a virtual town hall; creating a sense of community and fostering interaction amongst individuals with shared goals. This conceptualization recognizes that communication on Twitter plays a role in maintaining or challenging societal discourses.

Some sport fan studies have focused on understanding how sport fans use Twitter (Billings, Broussard, Xu, & Xu, in press; Clavio & Walsh, 2014; Haugh & Watkins,
2016). Other studies have studied Twitter to explore how consumers react to athlete and institutional transgressions (e.g., Brown & Billings, 2013; Brown, Brown, & Billings, 2015). While these projects have all aided in understanding an aspect of Twitter in regards to fans and consumers, there have also been some critiques of using Twitter in sport studies.

Previou Twitter studies in sport have suggested they are studying the average fan, which is contestable (Billings, 2014). Billings argued, contrary to O’Hallarn et al. (in press), that Twitter tends not to represent the majority of public opinions, due to its lower usage and recognizing that many Twitter users are observers (therefore, the number of users can be inflated). However, Billings (2014) also stated that:

Twitter is worth studying because it is not at all representative of any generalized population, most certainly including the far-from-monolithic sports fan… Many of those on this social network are atypical in myriad ways that are advantageous for advancing dialogues and movements. (p. 108)

While I would argue that tweets can represent the everyday behaviours and emotions of sport fans, I acknowledge that those who use Twitter are a subset of the general population. However, when seeking to explore cultural boundaries and the ways in which fans may resist, challenge, or display behaviours that are often overlooked in literature (i.e., negative), Twitter provides an effective platform.

Hardin (2014) critiqued many sport studies using Twitter for being atheoretical and called for future research to incorporate theoretically based work. My study addresses this call by combining two conceptual frameworks: cultural boundaries and critical discourse studies. This also answers Filo and colleagues’ (2015) call to
incorporate critical frameworks outside of sport to advance knowledge in this area. Additionally, in moving beyond motives or uses of social media by fans, I sought to understand how they use language and ideologies to reinforce or challenge the inclusive nature of sport fandom. By exploring the micro level of language use on Twitter, I am able to explain how and why dominant discourses are supported at the macro level. This meets the need suggested by O’Hallarann and colleagues (in press) that more research is required to understand how social media has an impact on shaping societal discourse.

2.5.2 Twitter and discourse.

Tannen and Trester (2013) noted with the Web 2.0 and social media, “we seek to understand these new ways of using language in our lives, the new worlds of words they entail in turn provide new means of understanding who we are and how we connect through language” (p. ix). Exploring how people use language on Twitter can provide insight into how social bonds are created and how meanings are maintained, challenged, or reinforced (Zappavigna, 2011). Through the use of hashtags, Twitter allows users to mark their discourses, which permits tweet to be found by others to bond (or, as I would also argue, debate) and communicate over particular topics (O’Hallarn et al., in press; Zappavigna, 2011, 2012).

Zappavigna (2011) noted that Twitter provides a space for personal evaluation of every day occurrences or societal events to be broadcast to a large audience. She continued to explain: “evaluation is a domain of interpersonal meaning where language is used to build power and solidarity by adopting stances and referring to other texts” (p. 794). The way Twitter is used and the language present on the platform are also based on
its microblogging nature. That is, Facebook’s status update with known peers allows for different forms of expression than the public nature of tweeting (Zappavigna, 2012). The concise nature of Twitter encourages constant and frequent updating, and requires discourses to be explored through understanding meaning-making in a constrained environment (Zappavigna, 2011, 2012).

Zappavigna (2012) noted that tweeting has enough “semiotic pull” (p. 28) for individuals to stop whatever they are doing and post their thoughts. That is, Twitter is recognized as a space that produces meanings of social life, whether it is through sharing personal thoughts, complaining about everyday life, discussing politics, or engaging in humour (Zappavigna, 2012). This tweeting behaviour can provide unedited insight into users’ language and discourse use. Further, Puschmann, Burns, Mahrt, Weller, and Burgess (2014) view Twitter as a relevant space to explore discourses, as it exposes a: “world of impossible discourses through the restriction to 140 characters; discourses that could never have come to pass had the creators of the service not chosen to constrain the users’ ability to compose messages in this way” (p. 428). Twitter required users to change the way they use language to fit the content restriction, resulting in new and alternative discourses. With other social media platforms, such as Facebook or Instagram, post length is unlimited. Therefore, it could be argued that they would have more space to explain, discuss, or provide context behind their language use.

Puschmann and colleagues (2014) noted that Twitter provides a window in the modern world based on how it is embedded in everyday communication and social interactions. This specific medium provides data to a range of cultural and social practices, allowing researchers to access rich insight of ordinary, real time
communication (Puschmann et al., 2014). With Twitter being a source of self-
representation, part of identity maintenance, and the act of tweeting being rooted in self-
production (Murthy, 2012), it is possible to understand how different users will call upon
discourses to represent their position. Hardin (2014) referred to Murthy’s comments
when she stated that there is value in relating the central function of Twitter, which is
self-production, to issues of cultural power.

In this dissertation, I demonstrate how Twitter is a vehicle for macro level
discourses of inclusion and exclusion in the contexts of sport fandom. Further, I explored
how the roles of dominant fan ideologies are present in culture and how those ideologies
are embedded in discourses on Twitter.

2.6 Summary

Sport fan literature has not paid much attention to how culture is created and has
not put much emphasis on the concept of cultural boundaries. The findings from this
study could provide sport organizations and practitioners with tools and strategies to
challenge exclusionary discourses and create new ones that result in a more inclusive
culture. This could allow more people to experience the social, mental, and emotional
benefits that can be attained through sport fandom (Wann, 2006). Furthermore, this
approach acknowledges that the overly categorized structure of much sport fan research
(e.g., such as models and typologies of fans based on identification, motivation, or
consumption) is not reflective of the way cultures are overlapped, blurred, and permeable
(Martin, 2002). Implementing a cultural boundaries framework provide insight into the
inherent complexity of navigating culture in sport fan contexts, particularly in social
media environments.
Our current understanding of sport fan culture is fragmented. With work focusing on gender, disability, socialization, identification, or maybe joining a few of those elements together, we are only getting an understanding of pockets of culture. By exploring inclusive and exclusive discourses, my work will transcend the categories, typologies, and social identifiers that define sport fan research. Moreover, my research explores these boundaries from multiple perspectives, exposing knowledge of sport fandom and culture that is relatively untouched. Furthermore, the combination of van Dijk’s work, with culture and more specifically Martin’s (2002) culture production of boundaries has provided a both a micro and macro perspective of sport fan cultures.
Chapter 3 – The Research Process

In this section, I explain the research process that has been used for my research. The chapter starts with a justification for the use of a qualitative approach, including a discussion of epistemology. Then, I explain the methodology in detail, followed by the method for data collection. Next, I provide an overview of ethical issues as well as the procedure I have followed for this research. I then provide a description of data analysis. Lastly, I outline my place as a researcher and end the chapter with a discussion of how I have achieved rigour in qualitative research.

3.1 Qualitative Research

This study uses qualitative research as it is most suitable for answering the research questions. Qualitative research is based in natural settings and explores how social experiences are created and given meaning (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). These characteristics are relevant for my work, as using social media provides a naturalistic setting and creates an opportunity to examine online behaviour and beliefs (Moreno, Goniu, Moreno, & Diekema, 2013; Wilson, Gosling, & Graham, 2012). In recognizing previous qualitative work, Nite and Singer (2012) noted that “qualitative researchers openly concede to the elusive concept of ‘truth’ and they recognize the importance of understanding the contextual diversities of ‘truth’ in the everyday lives of those who they are researching” (p. 92). This relates to a fundamental concept of qualitative research of using interpretive practices to create representations of the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018).

Qualitative research is also appropriate for exploratory purposes, when the topic has not previously been addressed (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). This is fitting since
researchers have yet to study how sport fan-produced texts create, maintain, or resist dominant discourses. Moreover, there has been a call for sport management scholars to use modern qualitative methodologies and methods to demonstrate alternative perspectives in research that will further knowledge in the field (Hoeber & Shaw, 2017). Nite and Singer (2012) also noted that sport management researchers should use qualitative designs that create better connections between their research and sport practitioners and participants. In my case, I used critical discourse analysis, focusing on real language in use, to inform sport practitioners and scholars. Typically, sport fan research has implemented quantitative surveys, which has provided foundational information about motivation, identification, and consumption. However, using qualitative methodologies and methods allows researchers to explore more complex and complicated issues connected to sport fandom.

Qualitative research emphasizes that reality is socially constructed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). In order to discover these realities, the researcher must view the phenomena holistically, acknowledge their position within the study, and use complex reasoning that is multidimensional (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). This has been achieved through exploring how language on the micro levels relates to ideologies and discourses on the macro level, reflecting how I contribute to or challenge dominant sport fan discourse, and using multiple conceptual frameworks and literature to explore this topic.

When using a research approach that views reality as socially constructed, a social constructionism epistemology can be present. A social constructionism epistemology believes that “all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent
upon human practices being constructed in and out interactions between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context” (Crotty, 1998, p. 2). Crotty noted that this epistemology views culture as the source (as opposed to a result) of our understandings, interpretations, and behaviours. Cultures, in different places and at different times, can interpret the same phenomena differently. For example, while it is common for women to attend sporting events in North American as a leisure activity, Iran only overruled a ban in 2015 that prevented women from attending sporting events (Dehghan, 2015). This demonstrates two views of the acceptability of fandom for women. A social constructionist epistemology believes there is no ‘one way’ of seeing things (i.e., no ‘one’ absolute truth or reality), but multiple realities that are socially constructed which are representative of particular ways of seeing associated with various cultures (Crotty, 1998).

3.2 Methodology

I used critical discourse analysis as a methodology for my dissertation. While I use the term critical discourse studies for the theoretical portion, I will use critical discourse analysis to refer to the methodology section. The theoretical components that are embedded in this methodology are described in Chapter 2 (CDS section). I will provide a brief overview of this methodology here.

As mentioned, discourse analysis is focused on language in use, and the meanings and taken for granted notions that are associated (Gee & Handford, 2012). Critical discourse analysis considers the power and ideological relations that are embedded in language (Fairclough, 2001). Studies that use CDA seek to “reveal the influence of the ideology on discourse, the counteractive influence of discourse on the ideology, and how
the two elements derive from and serve for social structure and power relations” (Liu & Guo, 2016, p. 1076).

There are difficulties with implementing CDA as a design as there is no set theoretical viewpoint (Meyer, 2001; van Dijk, 2001a; Weiss & Wodak, 2003). Essentially, there are few directives as to what a CDA study should look like. With no set guidelines, it is suggested that decisions of how to use this methodology be related to the research questions, goals, and methods of data collection (McGannon, 2017; van Dijk, 2013). As a result of the lack of guidelines, the researcher has more freedom to turn the theoretical assumptions of CDA into instruments of analysis (e.g., power, ideologies, social dominance) (Fernández Martínez, 2007). Fernández Martínez also noted that the: social nature of discourse should be matched with a methodological outline that, using categories, units, and layers of analysis, suggests a paradigm where those concepts focused on social status, institution, ideology, and power will be able to play a part. (p. 126)

CDA as a design was created to “question the status quo, by detecting, analysing, and also resisting and counteracting enactments of power abuse as transmitted in private and public discourses” (Tenorio, 2011, p. 187). Studies using CDA should also explore the discursive production of aspects of social reality (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Further, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) noted that “CDA as a method should be constantly evolving as its application to new areas of social life is extended and its theorization of discourse correspondingly develops” (p. 59). Therefore, I have chosen to call upon CDA to aid in understanding sport fan culture.
It is suggested that using ‘naturally occurring’ text is ideal for discourse analysis, as it is actual examples of language in use (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). To explore broader societal discourses, one should choose texts that are disseminated widely (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). For this purpose, social media, in particular Twitter, was chosen as a data source. The benefit of using social media data is that it creates an opportunity to examine online behaviour and beliefs in a naturalistic setting (Moreno et al., 2013; Wilson et al., 2012). Social media has also been used to challenge discourses as Antunovic and Linden (2015) discussed the social media initiative #HERESPROOF, created by the Tucker Center for Research on Girls & Women in Sport at the University of Minnesota. This initiative encouraged people to post images on social media from girls’ and women’s sporting events to challenge dominant discourses that these events garner little fan interest (Antunovic & Linden, 2015). Yet, what is missing from this body of work is an examination of sport fan-related discourses on social media, and how they shape, challenge, or reinforce inclusivity and exclusivity.

My goal for this study was to conceptualize how language in tweets reinforced and/or challenged dominant sport fan ideologies through discourses, resulting in drawing cultural boundaries. To answer the research questions, I collected individual tweets from fans of the Toronto Blue Jays. While this study did not implement a case study methodology, I did limit the focus to the fans and discourses of the Toronto Blue Jays during the 2017 season as a case for exploration. Of note, this team was selected because it is the only team in Canada in its’ respective league and has had recent winning seasons (see Appendix A for more contextual information). There is great value in using specific cases to study sport fandom as they can aid in recognizing the unique context of sport
fandom. To illustrate, Sveinson and Hoeber (2015) used a case study to explore how highly identified female fans of one team understood fundamental characteristics of fandom differently from the dominant literature. Additionally, Hyatt (2007) found that fans of a team that relocated did not continue to cheer for the team in the new location but considered themselves fans of the team that had existed in that geographical location. These unique contexts of sport fandom do not receive much academic attention.

A critical discourse analysis methodology places emphasis on ideological and power relations that are present in language. Therefore, I focused on two forms of power relations. First, I examined how social dominance of a group (i.e., sport fans) can create cultural boundaries that contests the idea that sport fandom is solely unifying. The second portion of the findings focuses on social inequality in sport, specifically an athlete’s transgression involving homophobic language, and how consumers’ reactions relate to inclusive and exclusive sport environments in a social media context. I have implemented CDA as part of the research design through maintaining a critical state of mind, questioning the status quo, and focusing on discourse production within the two findings (Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Tenorio, 2011; van Dijk, 2013). Below, I have focused on transparency during the data collection and analysis processes.

3.3 Data Collection

Generally, the Internet has been recognized as a space where the wider population can access information and play out their everyday lives, in moments of drama or more mundane practices (Snee, Hine, Morey, Roberts, & Watson, 2016). Additionally, while the Internet may seem to a place of neutrality, it is space where power relations play out (i.e., comments that are racist, sexist, or homophobic) (Murthy, 2008). In regards to
discourses, McGovern (2016) noted the Internet could influence the production of discourses (in her case, related to race and ethnicity). In MacKay and Dallaire’s (2014) study, they found the Internet provided a space for female skateboarders to gain access to a male dominated sport and to produce varying definitions of femininity in sport.

Twitter was chosen among the various social media platforms to collect data for this research. While the justification for using Twitter is covered more in-depth in the literature review, a few key points are provided here. First, there is a significant amount of data available, with approximately 500 million tweets per day (Twitter, 2017). Twenty percent of MLB fans reported using Twitter to discuss and follow sports (Broughton, 2012). Additionally, 53% of fans noted they sometimes follow the game on Twitter while it is playing live (Broughton, 2012). While Twitter is not the most popular social media platform for the MLB, research suggests that Twitter is an important space for fans to interact and is influential in that public sentiment to everyday life or events can be gauged through trending topics or comments (Billings, 2014; Riechart Smith & Smith, 2012). Furthermore, Twitter has been found beneficial in exploring discourses, albeit outside of sport (e.g., Brock, 2012; Kelsey & Bennett, 2014; Page, 2012).

Visual Twitter Analytics (Vista) software was used to collect live tweets (written text). The data were selected in order to observe naturalistic interactions of Blue Jays fans. ‘Naturally occurring’ texts are present in the ordinary, day-to-day activities of participants and reflect actual language in use (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Vista is a software system created by Hoeber, Hoeber, El Meseery, Odoh, and Gopi (2016) that collects data (i.e., individual tweets) from Twitter. This system was created to “support the interactive and visual analysis of the temporally changing sentiment expressed in
Twitter” (p. 30). Hoeber et al. noted that this software is able to collect a large amount of data. This allows qualitative researchers to conduct previously unfeasible studies, as they would often sacrifice obtaining important information to have a smaller and more manageable sample size. Vista has many other benefits that provide an authentic and comprehensive view of the data. First, it is possible to discover phenomena from the data, without needing to identify them in advance. As well, the data is represented visually, which the researcher can use to easily explore patterns and connections. Vista also does an initial analysis by categorizing words based on sentiment (i.e., positive, negative, or neutral). Lastly, it considers the temporal nature of the data, meaning there is a chronological property in the software.

Data collection occurred over the 2017 season of Toronto Blue Jays. The first step in using Vista was to establish queries based on hashtags (#), mentions (@user), or specific words. The queries used included: #BlueJays, #TorontoBlueJays, #GoJaysGo, #OurMoment, #FireGibbons, #StroShow, #StayInTheFight, #Jays, #BlowJays, and #LetsRise. Mention queries (@BlueJays) included any tweets that mentions the official Blue Jays account (i.e., an individual tags the team in his or her tweet). These queries are based on commonly used hashtags on Twitter (i.e., #GoJaysGo), campaign hashtags created by the organization for fans to use (i.e., #LetsRise), the official Twitter account of the Blue Jays, and fan-created hashtags that caught my attention during the season (#FireGibbons, #BlowJays). For this dissertation, I only pulled tweets from #BlueJays, #LetsRise, and @BlueJays. This decision was made during data exploration, in which I found that these three queries not only had the most amounts of data, but also varied in tone, which would allow me to explore discourses from multiple perspectives. After the
tweets were collected, Vista stored them in a local database (Hoeber et al., 2016). I was then able to explore the tweets over the 2017 season and made sampling decisions during the exploration. I will discuss this further in the procedure section.

3.4 Research Procedure

3.4.1 Ethics.

I did not seek ethical approval for this research because my research is taking place in a public setting. An ethics exemption was granted from the University of Regina’s Research Ethics Board (see Appendix B). When using a public platform, like Twitter, there is no expectation of privacy and therefore, consent to collect data is not required (Panel on Research Ethics, 2014). Nonetheless, there are ethical considerations.

Some strategies address confidentiality in using Twitter for data collection. First, I only collected tweets that are publicly available. To determine the public nature of the data, Moreno and colleagues (2013) suggested using the organization’s privacy policies as guidelines. Twitter’s privacy policy states: “our services are primarily designed to help you share information with the world. Most of the information you provide us through the Twitter Services is information you are asking us to make public” (Twitter, 2017, para. 11). Hewson (2016) noted, “anything that is accessible to anyone, without the need for explicit permission, is in the public domain” (p. 215). Therefore, collecting tweets that are publicly accessible does not require consent. Data was not collected from those who have private accounts. As well, if I took a tweet from the sample and attempted to find it on Twitter to get more information (i.e., retrieve the full tweet or look at a link) and the tweet was no longer accessible, I removed it from the sample.
There have been some confidentiality strategies recommended for online data collection. Even though tweets are publicly available, researchers should ethically conduct studies by seeking to protect people’s identities and other confidential information about them (Koiznets, 2015). The technique of cloaking (Kozinets, 2015) has been suggested, which involves mentioning the data collection site (e.g., Twitter) but altering names of those who have posted beyond recognition and rephrasing verbatim quotes. In order to protect the individuals who posted on Twitter, I did not include usernames in conjunction with verbatim tweets. Although, I did not rephrase tweets, as the purpose of my dissertation was to explore how language is used in everyday life. Since tweets were retained in their original state, someone could copy and paste the tweet into Twitter and find the user. However, an individual who was also looking for Blue Jays tweets (searching the hashtag #BlueJays) could also find the same tweet. For example, for my interview with the National Post (cf. Edmiston, 2018), the journalist asked for some tweets to use which I sent without usernames. They did a search and found the users of the tweets and posted screenshots with the username included. After this occurred, I noticed some of the accounts the article pulled from had changed their setting to private. Therefore, while some accounts may be private at the time of writing this dissertation, they were public at the time of data collection. Furthermore, while the data is public, it is unlikely that most people are expecting others to critique their tweets in a public setting.

3.4.2 Procedure.

In order to use Vista, I needed to establish queries using hashtags and tags (as mentioned in the data collection section). After choosing the queries, the software
collected live tweets and stored them for future analysis. I began collecting data on April 2nd, 2017 (opening day of the season). Due to a malfunction with the software, I was unable to collect data from the last four games of the season (September 27th, 29th, 30th, and October 1st). Therefore, data collection finished on September 26th, 2017 (instead of October 2nd).

The data analysis process was inductive in nature. Other than having a general direction (i.e., exploring inclusive and exclusive sport fan discourses in social media environments), the actual data and samples were not predefined. Table 3.1 below provides an overview of the steps that I took through this process to explore and organize the data. The entire data organization and analysis process took approximately eight months.

Table 3.1

_Procedural Steps_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Action Taken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Determined queries to use for data collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Narrowed down initial data sets by searching for specific terms; created datasets for each study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Collected entire text of the tweet, including emojis, exploring links, and finding images</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Read and re-read the datasets. Made notes of what concepts and ideas were present in the texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Created samples of each dataset; categorized samples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Selected tweets from the samples for analysis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some steps were used for both studies (Pillar’s transgression and cultural boundaries of fandom). Therefore, steps 1, 3, and 4 will be discussed generally, where the
rest of the steps will be discussed in regards to how the procedure slightly varied for each study. To ensure clarity, I will speak to the ‘Pillar’ study or the ‘Pillar’ dataset. The other study will be referred to as the ‘fan’ study or ‘fan’ dataset.

The first step was determining which queries I would use. As mentioned, I chose #BlueJays, #LetsRise, and @BlueJays. Not only did these queries have the most tweets (approximately 850,000 tweets combined), they also varied in content and tone. #BlueJays and @BlueJays are both generally neutral in sentiment, and #LetsRise (generally positive in sentiment) was the official hashtag of the 2017 season. Narrowing down the data sets was required, as all the queries together would have amounted to over one million tweets.

In the second step, I needed to narrow down the tweets again, as conducting CDA on 850,000 was unfeasible and untimely. For the ‘fan’ study, I wanted to explore discourses related to sport fandom. Therefore, I searched for the terms ‘fan’, ‘fans’, and ‘fandom’ in the #LetsRise and #BlueJays data sets. This search resulted in 17,993 tweets. Retweets, media tweets, and tweets containing the word ‘fan’ but did not relate to ideas, values, and beliefs related to being a Blue Jays fan were removed to place emphasis on fan-produced texts and discourses, which left 4,235 original tweets from 2,123 unique users. I did not use @BlueJays as I wanted to solely focus on macro level communication, as this mention was used for both micro and macro communication.

During the season I kept notes of events and news occurring with the Blue Jays. On May 17th, 2017, Kevin Pillar (Blue Jays center fielder) said a homophobic slur to the

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3 This is assuming that users were not tweeting from multiple accounts or changed their username during data collection.
opposing team’s pitcher. Since Vista was collecting data through the season, I was able to focus in on this situation as a case to explore how sport fans and consumers reacted to this transgression, and whether the use of discourses related to inclusivity or exclusivity. To get the data, I searched within the three queries (#LetsRise, #BlueJays, and @BlueJays) for the terms ‘Pillar’, ‘Superman’ (Pillar’s nickname), and Kevin Pillar’s official Twitter handle ‘@KPILLAR4’ to filter tweets related to the transgression. Tweets were searched from the day Pillar said the slur (May 17th, 2017) to six days later (May 24th, 2017), for a total of one week. The initial result was 2,342 tweets. After removing retweets, tweets that were not related to the transgression, and tweets from the media, there were 699 original tweets from 523 unique users reacting to the transgression.

The third step was to ensure the entire tweet and context was considered. When exporting from Vista, data was shown in an Excel file. Occasionally, when downloading the tweets, the entire tweet was not shown in Excel. Therefore, I had to click a link to retrieve the full text. Additionally, any use of emojis would show up as a question mark in the Excel file. To understand the context and perhaps intent of the tweet, I would copy and paste the tweet into the Twitter search bar to find the tweet and note which emojis were used. Lastly, if any tweets included a link, I would click the link to understand the context of the text provided, as sometimes the link was to an image, a GIF, or an article. This process took about a week for the nearly 5,000 tweets.

Once the tweets were retrieved in full and any links and emojis were noted, the fourth step was to begin reading and re-reading the samples to get a basic understanding

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4 This is assuming that users were not tweeting from multiple accounts or changed their username during data collection.
of the content. The first time I read through the data, I made very few notes in a notebook about patterns in the content, as I was attempting to get a general understanding of the tweets. After reading each dataset once, I started making notes about the ‘essence’ of each tweet. I followed the suggestion of McGannon (2017) which was to read over the text, then begin making notes of concepts, words, identities, objects, and considering what was being “worked up” (p. 237) in the text. For example, in the ‘fan’ study, I made note of how fans alluded to their identity (e.g., die-hard) or if they spoke to certain behaviours or norms of fandom (e.g., loyalty, attendance). This was in an effort to focus on the cultural aspects of fandom. I read the tweets of the ‘fan’ dataset five times and the ‘Pillar’ dataset three times, making notes beside each tweet until I felt confident that I understood the content in each dataset.

In the fifth step, I categorized each dataset. For the ‘fan’ dataset, I narrowed down the data twice. First, I choose a sample of 1,095 from the 4,234 tweets. These tweets represented my research question of inclusionary and exclusionary fan culture, focusing on what it means to be a fan, acceptable and unacceptable fan behaviours for Blue Jays fans, the characteristics of ‘true’ fans, perceptions of other MLB fans, and reactions to a poor performing season. I chose tweets that both represented inclusionary and exclusionary content, but placed more focus on the exclusionary tweets to focus on the lesser known phenomena of sport fandom and exclusion. An initial categorization of the data from the ‘fan’ dataset is provided in Appendix C to demonstrate how I attempted to organize the many patterns within the data. I then organized the 1,095 tweets based on norms and behaviours of fandom, positive tweets, tweets that spoke to other Blue Jays fans, tweets that critiqued management, tweets in which they displayed their own
identity, tweets that mentioned geographical location, tweets about the Blue Jays or their fans that did not come from Blue Jays fans, tweets pessimistic in tone, and Blue Jays fans who mentioned fandom of other teams or sports.

The ‘Pillar’ dataset had significantly fewer tweets than the ‘fan’ study. For that reason, I did not feel the need to create a smaller sample. I categorized all 699 tweets based on the subject of their reactions: positive support for Pillar, condemning Pillar, positive or negative reactions to the suspension, questioning sponsors, and dismissing or making light of the situation.

In the sixth and final step, I chose which tweets would be analyzed in-depth. For the ‘Pillar’ study, I had decided to do the analysis on all 699 tweets. I had begun by analyzing the first 40 tweets in each category. Once I started going back and analyzing more in each category, there were not many new findings occurring. Even though people were using different language, they were coming to similar conclusions. However, I continued to complete the analysis on all the data. This provided insight into how I would analyze the much larger ‘fan’ dataset. I realized that I could take a smaller (than 699) sample size and add more if I was not reaching data saturation. After spending more time with the ‘fan’ data, I decided to focus on how a central fan culture was drawn, and then how boundaries were drawn amongst other groups (other Blue Jays fans, management and ownership, and other MLB fans). When choosing which tweets to select, I went through the data and highlighted 180 tweets that related to dictating acceptable and unacceptable behaviours, rules, and norms to demonstrate how cultural boundaries were being drawn. These tweets also predominately focused on exclusion. Once I reached 158 tweets, very little new findings were being discovered and data saturation was achieved.
3.5 Data Analysis

For the analytical process, I employed Fairclough’s (1992, 1995a, 1995b) three-dimensional analysis, as well as van Dijk’s ideological discourse structures, which included polarization, pronouns, emphasis on positive self-description and negative other-description, and norms and values. First, I will describe the three dimensions and then provide two examples of the analysis from each study. Appendix D also provides examples of raw data analysis for each study.

Fairclough’s (1992, 1995a, 1995b) three-dimensional of analysis involves text analysis (description), processing analysis (interpretation), and social analysis (explanation). Text analysis focuses on the meaning and form of texts. While linguistic elements such as vocabulary are analyzed, this dimension also considers ideologies, identities, and relationships found in the texts. Specifically, I incorporated lexical analysis in this stage. This involves examining what words are used and why they might have been used (Machin & Mayr, 2012). These word choices (or lexical choices) can imply different discourses (Machin & Mayr, 2012). I also placed emphasis on implications, which refers to the idea that: “meanings are not always explicitly expressed, but somehow semantically implied, or entailed by other, explicit expressions and their meanings” (van Dijk, 1995, p. 268).

The second dimension, processing analysis or discourse practices, focuses on the process that transforms texts during production and consumption. Phillips & Jørgensen (2002) noted that discursive practices involve authors drawing on discourses that already exist when he or she is creating a text, in addition to how the receivers of texts use available discourses when they are consuming and interpreting texts. Importantly,
discourse practices are the mediator between text and social practice. That is, sociocultural practices shape texts but only through the way texts are produced and consumed (i.e., fan behaviours and rules or norms that dictate socially acceptable behaviour). This dimension also focuses on the message that is being interpreted, in which I focused on how the analysis of the first step led to calling upon various discourses.

Lastly, social practices focus on more abstract elements, such as the situational context, the wider institutional context, and the broader societal and cultural contexts. The importance of social practice is that it “explains what a text reflects about society and the subsequent implications it can have on society” (Kelsey & Bennett, 2014, p. 41).

To illustrate the use of this framework I will provide one example from each study. From the ‘Pillar’ study, I have chosen the tweet “Players calling each other faggot is not an issue. There’s no discussion to be had. Anyone who disagrees is a faggot #Pillar #BlueJays.” On the first level, I would acknowledge that this user used the term ‘faggot’ where others would refer to the language as a homophobic slur. Using the term itself can suggest normalization and downplay its impact. Phrases such as “there’s no discussion to be had” and “not an issue” alludes to the power of the individual by stating their opinion as fact. They are using their voice in an attempt to shut down a public conversation that is occurring in a public space. “Anyone who disagrees is a faggot” demonstrates van Dijk’s ideological structures by engaging in negative other description. Those who do not have the same opinion are viewed negatively. On the second level of analysis, this tweet suggests that sport is an appropriate place to use language that could be considered derogatory and reinforces the use of homophobic language in sport. On the third level,
this tweet supports the hypermasculinity context in sport in which alternative masculinities (such as complicit masculinities or marginalized masculinities that challenge hegemonic masculinity) do not have a place.

From the ‘fan’ study, I have chosen the tweet “I get really frustrated by this fan base sometimes. I don’t care if it’s 185-0, never ever boo your own team. #BlueJays #Jays #LetsRISE.” For text analysis, I pulled out “I”, which demonstrates an opinion and speaking for themselves. “Frustrated with this fan base” does not express frustration with the team performance but the way in which the fans are reacting to that performance. This comment suggests that one cannot critique the team but can hold others accountable for not being a good ‘fan’. “Never boo your own team” is stated as a rule, a fan behaviour that must be abided by. At the second level, this tweet is suggesting the idea that all fans must demonstrate positive support to their team, regardless of performance. Fans are expected to consume and invest time but others may try to enforce a label on a fan’s identity with the team based on their behaviours (such as ‘part time’ or ‘bandwagon’). The third level suggests that there is a line between inappropriate and appropriate fan behaviour that creates inclusion or exclusion in sport fandom.

This three-dimensional analytical framework is one of the most well-known and discussed frameworks in CDA, and has received praise for its’ elaborate and well-developed structure (e.g., Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). This approach proved useful as a researcher who has not previously used a critical discourse analysis methodology. The benefit of using this analytical framework is the flexibility it offers to achieve the research goals. Since I took two
different approaches to explore cultural boundaries, I was able to use the framework for both topics.

I also kept a detailed log of events during the season, where I recorded summaries of every game and made note of any significant occurrences (such as a player getting injured). These aided in my ability to contextualize the data during analysis. For example, tweets such as “ain’t no one feeling sorry for you kevin pillar #BlueJays” could easily be misunderstood and misinterpreted. If I had not been taking notes, I may not have been aware of the transgression by Kevin Pillar.

3.6 Place of the Researcher

I began following the NFL at the age of 12 and have been a highly identified Green Bay Packers fan ever since. In the past few years, I have started following professional tennis, as well as the Toronto Blue Jays and Toronto Raptors. Through following a variety of sports and completing my master’s research about female sport fans, I have gained an interest in questioning and critiquing the current knowledge of sport fans. I catch myself wondering: who is viewed as a sport fan? What are the norms of sport fans? What behaviours are acceptable in sport fan settings?

In my experiences witnessing sport fan interactions online and in person, I have noticed that these actions and behaviours can either be inclusive or exclusive. For example, I have seen fans of opposing teams become friends during a game and I have seen fans make fun of, yell at, and call opposing teams’ fans names. Furthermore, in attending professional sporting events, there seems to be a strategy from the sport organization to acknowledge the distinction between the home team fans (positive; favourable) and the away team fans (negative; unfavourable). If there is almost a
universal agreement that sports are unifying, why are there so many behaviours and actions that are based on exclusivity?

As a fan, the behaviours that I view as acceptable are typically what I display. My behaviours usually involve yelling, lots of swearing, and drinking beer. I also tend to evaluate fans of ‘my’ team to see how much they identify with them, I defend my team when their value or skill is questioned, and I own and wear official merchandise. What I do not find acceptable is fighting, making sexist/racist/offensive comments to players or other fans, being excessively intoxicated, being on a phone during the entire game, not paying any attention to the game, and not observing the norms of the sport (e.g., no talking during play for a tennis game). This is important to acknowledge, as I needed to keep in mind my position in relation to the discourses as well as how I have or could contribute to their production (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). In addition to my own views on what is considered acceptable or not, I need to acknowledge my identities. I am conducting this research as a white, female adult who is removed from the location of the team. As a female and having lower levels of identification with the Blue Jays, I could be on the margins of the culture. Additionally, I have never lived in or spent time in Toronto, and therefore I may be missing some of the cultural nuances associated with that community.

I casually followed the Toronto Blue Jays over the 2015-2017 seasons. There are two main reasons why I gained interest in the team: they had back-to-back successful seasons (i.e., winning records and making it to playoffs) and I have gotten hooked into their popularity, or, if you will, I have jumped on the bandwagon. For many years, I have followed the playoffs, but rarely watched a game throughout the season. During the 2015
and 2016 reasons, I watched about 30% of games throughout the seasons and did my best not to miss any games during the playoffs. During the 2017 season, I watched about 60% of the games, and caught up on the others through game summaries or highlights on TSN. During the season, I would have considered myself a Jays fan, but not one that is highly identified. I have never been to a game in person nor do I spend much time discussing them on social media. I hardly watched any Blue Jays games in 2018. This could be due to more demands on my time analyzing the data, but also being a ‘typical’ bandwagon fan, in that they were not performing well and therefore, I felt it was not worth my time to keep up with the team. Importantly, I am familiar with the rules and some strategies of baseball, as I spent 15 years playing softball.

In critical discourse studies work, it is important to be self-reflective and critical, especially since I have been working with discourses that may be familiar to me. It is important that I treat the discourses as systems of meaning that have been socially constructed and that could have a meaning different to my understanding, belief, and interpretation (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). In going through fan data, I knew I would have my own ideas and perceptions (e.g., appropriate and inappropriate fan behaviours). However, my goal as a researcher was to explore how others define what is acceptable and unacceptable in sport fandom and in regard to an athlete’s transgression. In going through this process, I did not determine what is right or wrong, but rather focused on what has been said, written and/or shown by “exploring patterns in and across the statements and identifying the social consequences of different discursive representation of reality” (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 21).
Personally, I believe that in an ideal world, fandom would be inclusive for all (even though I have ideas of what is ‘inappropriate’ fan behaviour). However, I recognize that subcultures exist within fandom that require self-identification and have a basis of exclusion. Highly identified fans distinguish themselves from other, more casual fans and may communicate the message that they are 'better' or 'special' as a result. It makes me question whether or not fans of numerous identification levels can eventually develop tolerance of others’ variations of fandom to the point that inclusiveness is the norm.

3.7 Research Quality

While qualitative researchers have typically used the term ‘trustworthiness’ (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) to determine the quality of work, I have opted for a more contemporary approach. There has been some critique of using ‘universal criteria’, or a criteriological approach, to define quality of research, such as Lincoln and Guba’s conceptualization of trustworthiness (involving credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability) and Tracy’s (2010) eight quality markers (i.e., worthy topic, rich rigor, sincerity, credibility, resonance, significant contribution, ethics, and meaningful coherence). Smith and McGannon (2018) argued that these criteria are socially constructed, and therefore, the usefulness of each criterion and amount of criteria to be used depends on the project. As a result, “the idea of universal criteria as ‘stable’ markers of quality thus starts falling apart to sort out the trustworthy interpretations from the untrustworthy ones” (Smith & McGannon, 2018, p. 114). This approach to quality may also cause concerns in that the researcher is then judged on pre-defined criteria that are not always applicable to the project (Burke, 2017; Smith & McGannon, 2018). Furthermore, it is suggested that if researchers use universal criteria, they must adopt all
of the criteria since each is of equal value when marking quality, yet that is rarely the case (Smith & McGannon, 2018).

I have opted to focus on quality from a relativist perspective. This approach suggests that the criteria for evaluating quality are flexible and contextually situated (Burke, 2017; Smith & McGannon, 2018; Sparkes & Smith, 2009). A relativist approach connects to ontological relativism and epistemological constructionism, in which realities are multiple, and knowledge is subjective and socially constructed (Burke, 2017). In conducting research, the relativist must: “make informed decisions and ongoing judgments about which criteria reflect the inherent properties of a particular study as it develops over time” (Burke, 2017, p. 334). Therefore, it is possible to take the criteriological approach in which all criteria from a list (such as Tracy’s) must be used or a relativist approach in which relevant criteria are chosen based on the application to the project. Importantly, part of a relativist approach is that onus is placed on both the researcher and reader to judge the quality of the research based on the goals and aims of the project. Taking this approach does not mean that any criteria are acceptable, but rather, one must: “reflexively determine the rigour and relevance of research through emerging and dynamic criteria of evaluation, whilst acknowledging that ‘good’ studies possess certain characteristics” (Burke, 2017, p. 337).

Taking the relativist approach, I have chosen criteria from Tracy’s (2010) list of quality markers and Smith and Caddick’s (2012) list of criteria for judging qualitative research that are relevant to the purpose of this dissertation. Importantly, each of these lists is a combination of quality markers acknowledged by various researchers. I have focused on incorporating worthy topic, rich rigor, sincerity, and significant contribution
from Tracy’s (2010) list, as well as width from Smith and Caddick’s (2012) list. These criteria were chosen as they represent crucial aspect of critical discourse studies projects. The connection between the markers and CDS will be explained below.

First, this topic is worthy of exploration as little is known about how discourses produced by sport fans can create inclusionary and exclusionary cultures. Additionally, Tracy (2010) noted that: “research that is counterintuitive, questions taken-for-granted assumptions or challenges well-accepted ideas is often worthwhile” (p. 840). The purpose of CDS and CDA as a methodology is to uncover taken-for-granted meanings that are associated with language. Therefore, taking a concept such as unity in sport fandom, and critiquing this notion from a CDA perspective provides significant insight into how sport fandom can also be exclusionary. Additionally, in critically exploring language use, this research is timely (Tracy, 2010) as we are living in an age where political correctness, and the fight against it, is at the forefront of communication (Fairclough, 2003).

This research incorporated rich rigor through using two complex theoretical constructs (i.e., CDS and cultural boundaries). While there are demographic considerations about Twitter users, I would argue the sample also represents a variety of fans which aids in achieving richness by having multiple different voices as part of the data. Rich rigor was also evident in this work by collecting data over a full season (6 months). This criterion was present in the analytical process, by not only using the three-dimensional framework but bringing in other elements of analysis in the ideological discourse structures. The volume of data collected and analyzed adds to the richness of the research. I also kept journals to explain how raw data was transformed into the findings and included journal entries to be transparent about the process of collecting,
sorting, and organizing the data, as well as a reflective journal which entailed my own thoughts (Tracy, 2010). Here I provide an excerpt from the analysis journal “In the past week I have gone over all of the data again. I am finding it to be so much to the point that I don’t remember previous days’ data. I am wondering how I will be able to narrow down such a large data set. I have been marking down next to the tweets whether they are self, others, or organization related, meaning are they about themselves, others (other fans of their team or a different team), or about the organization/management (Blue Jays). Larena and I kind of talked about taking this route so as I went through, it almost seemed like the more natural way of analyzing what the tweet said. Some tweets I am not interested in, they don’t seem to have anything relevant, but I am not sure if I can just ditch them. I need to work on a justification for excluding some tweets. I mean, if I just don’t use some, am I just cutting outliers or is it my own interest guiding the selection? Maybe another go through is required.” These reflections aided my ability to be transparent in providing a detailed account of using a critical discourse studies approach and also how I was interacting with the data during analysis. It also demonstrated my struggles in attempting to conduct research using a large amount of data, along with a methodology that I had not previously used.

Sincerity, which is being transparent about methods and self-reflective throughout the research process (Tracy, 2010), was part of these studies. This is congruent with the views of CDS in requiring the researcher to acknowledge their position in relation to discourses and how they could have contributed to their production (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). In keeping the self-reflective journal, I was able to be transparent about the struggles of data collection, the process of data collection, and how my own views
influence the process. Using a journal provided a space to reflectively consider how I contribute to, challenge, or maintain any of the discourses I am working with. It was a place in which I could question my own use of language and how I was interpreting language. During the data exploration process, I spent some time in Australia. I found that being in a new geographical location and a new culture required more reflection on how language is used. This has been pulled from my reflective journal: “The idea of language in relation to culture has really hit home for me being in Australia. While I speak English and that is the dominant language here, the slang that is used makes me feel on the edge of the culture. Words like “snogging” (kissing), “moll” (bitch), “togs” (bathing suit), etc. keep me from really being in the culture. Also, I feel the way I sound keeps me on the outskirts. I have tried to be respectful and join the culture as much as possible, changing my language in an attempt to fit in, using words such as “takeaway” instead of “to go” or “takeout”, “toilet” instead of bathroom, and trying to not pronounce every part of the word (i.e. pronouncing Melbourne (Mel-burn) as ‘Melbun’). While I expected to work and learn about the culture here, it is interesting how much being in a new place at this time during my data analysis helped me see how language and culture come together.”

Width, as described by Smith and Caddick (2012), is about the “comprehensiveness of evidence” (p. 335). This criterion focuses on the quality of data collection, as well as interpretation and analysis (Smith & Caddick, 2012). For this research, I demonstrated the complexity and breadth of the data by pulling multiple tweets, providing examples of analytical process with tweets from the data, and placing the tweets within multiple interpretations. Additionally, the volume of data (almost 5,000
tweets) represents the width of the study. Lastly, significant contribution was achieved in multiple forms. First, bringing in critical conceptual frameworks demonstrated an alternative aspect to sport fandom, in that it is not always unifying. With CDA and sport management both emphasize the importance of practicality, this research has aimed to consider how culture is created, and implications for language use and fostering inclusivity. Methodologically, this work introduces an underutilized approach and theory to conducting qualitative research in a sport management context.
Chapter 4 - Findings

The findings are presented as three articles. The first examines how sport fans, using discourses of unity, loyalty, and consumption, draw cultural boundaries. The second focuses on consumer’s reaction to an athlete’s transgression by reinforcing and challenging discourses associated with the player’s brand. This study exposes how cultural boundaries are drawn around homophobia and homophobic language in sport. Lastly, a methodological article focuses on the relevance, application, and usefulness of implementing a critical discourse analysis methodology in sport management studies. Research questions 1, 2, and 3 are answered in the first and second articles.

4.1 All Fans are Not Created Equal: Establishing Cultural Boundaries of Sport Fandom on Twitter

4.1.1 Introduction.

Discourses of sport fandom have emphasized sports’ unifying abilities (e.g., Crawford, 2004; Wann, 2006). Research has shown that identifying with a sport team can enhance self-esteem, provide opportunities to create social connections that can be temporary or enduring, and create a common bond that brings people of various backgrounds together (Gantz, 2013; Wann, 2006). This dominant discourse, based on a functionalist perspective, is acknowledged beyond academia. Popular media articles have also discussed how being a sport fan can result in being happier and healthier through feeling a sense of belongingness with like-minded individuals (cf. Almendrala, 2015). It is difficult to escape this perspective of sports, as teams in the major leagues use the discourse of unity in their marketing campaigns. In Major League Baseball, the Toronto Blue Jays have used unifying language in campaigns (i.e., ‘Lets Rise’, ‘Come Together’,
‘Our Moment’). In basketball, Toronto Raptors’ tag line ‘We the North’ has created a sense of national pride with the team by highlighting the connection that many Raptors fans have as the ‘north of the US border’ team in the National Basketball Association (NBA). As well, the National Football League (NFL) had a campaign with the theme ‘Football is Family’. A recent NFL Shop commercial showed multiple women wearing the same team’s clothing with the line “we have more in common than we may think”.

Scholars have critiqued the functionalist perspective of sports by studying divisive issues like racism, sexism, and homophobia amongst athletes, coaches, and those in leadership positions. However, there has been limited critique of this perspective with respect to fandom. When this dominant discourse is challenged, it is often presented as exclusion based on social divisions, such as gender or race (e.g., Cleland & Cashmore, 2014, 2016; Sveinson & Hoeber, 2016; Toffoletti, 2017c). This exclusion is often associated or explained in relation to culture. For example, women may be excluded as fans due to the masculine culture of the sport/sporting environment (e.g., Jones, 2008; Sveinson & Hoeber, 2016; Toffoletti, 2017c). There has been a push for more research to challenge this predominantly positive perspective, as Toffoletti (2017c) stated there is a "myth of sport as a universal equaliser that brings diverse people together in a harmonious shared love of sport" (p. 5). Furthermore, Crawford (2004) recognized that involvement and interest of fans goes beyond the sporting event to involve “patterns of social membership and exclusion, which operate around supporter communities and are also represented in patterns of sport support in everyday life and consumer patterns” (p. 126).
Critiquing commonly held views, or taken-for-granted meanings, can shine light on alternative perspectives that have been previously overlooked (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Taking a critical approach to exploring sport fandom, this study unites critical discourse studies and cultural boundaries as frameworks. Going beyond the concept of identification, this broader approach to sport fandom explores how dominant discourses based on fan ideologies create inclusionary and exclusionary cultural boundaries in social media environments. Deconstructing taken for granted values, norms, and behaviours provides new insight into sport fandom’s unifying and divisive nature.

4.1.2 Literature review.

4.1.2.1 Ideologies and Sport Fandom.

van Dijk (2001b) defined ideologies as a “special form of social cognition shared by social groups. Ideologies thus form the basis of the social representation and practices of group members, including their discourse, which at times serves as a means of ideological production, reproduction, and challenge” (p.12). Further, ideologies are comprised of shared sociocultural knowledge, as well as group values, norms, and attitudes (van Dijk, 2001b). Since social group members share ideologies, there is a connection with social identity theory. This theory states fans self-categorize, and in doing so they enhance the similarities between themselves and other in-group members and accentuate the differences between themselves and out-group members (Stets & Burke, 2000). van Dijk (2001b) noted that ideologies are representations that allow group members to self-identify based on shared viewpoints. This self-identification is also used to distinguish themselves from other groups. Therefore, ideologies are able to play a role in representations that create opposition (i.e., us versus them; van Dijk, 2001b). Many
studies have explored sport fandom from a social identity theory perspective. By placing culture at the forefront of this study, better insight can be gained into the power that sport fans have in dictating appropriate behaviours and norms, which can then be enacted through social identities. This study focuses on sport fan ideologies and discourses from a cultural perspective and calls upon concepts of social identity to explain the findings.

The power of ideologies is that they may influence the understanding of discourses as fact (McGannon, 2017). In the context of sport fandom, the dominant ideology is based on adopting behaviours and norms associated with authenticity, which tends to be synonymous with traits of highly identified fans. These fans possess strong loyalty, knowledge, and high levels of consumption (Amato et al., 2005; Fink, Trail, & Anderson, 2002; Funk & James, 2004). Research also demonstrates that those who do not display these qualities explicitly or do not resemble an average sport fan (heterosexual male) are assumed to be inauthentic (e.g., Jones, 2008; Sveinson & Hoeber, 2016). There are fan typologies and models that recognize multiple ways of expressing sport fandom. However, acknowledging that multiple types of fan performances exist does not demonstrate the complexity in which fans navigate, maintain, and resist cultural norms. This work seeks to add new knowledge in understanding inclusionary and exclusionary behaviours by critically exploring sport fandom discourse.

4.1.2.2 Culture.

Culture refers to: “patterns of interpretation composed of the meanings associated with various cultural manifestations, such as stories, rituals, formal and informal practices, jargon, and physical arrangements” (Martin, 2002, p. 330). This definition reflects that there are patterns of meaning-making, but they may not necessarily be shared
amongst all members of a culture. Studies exploring culture often look to reveal how social and everyday life is facilitated through meanings (Alasuutari, 1995). For example, wearing a certain team’s jersey could symbolize fandom to that team. Alasuutari also noted that “realities of the everyday only exist to us through meanings; they do not exist as such, independently of people’s interpretations and understanding” (p. 29). Therefore, meanings are central to our understanding of the world and how we interact with it.

Culture is a key component to exploring the inclusive and exclusive nature of sport. It has been noted “people do not make meaning just as individuals. They do so as part of social groups which agree on, contest, or negotiate norms and values about how language ought to be used and what things ought to mean” (Gee & Handford, 2012, p. 5). Cultural practices of individuals are adopted through language and play a role in the processes of becoming a socialized member of a culture (Alasuutari, 1995). Additionally, Crawford (2004) explained that due to the assumption of ‘everyday life’ being ordinary and monotonous, the patterns of these everyday experiences have gone relatively overlooked. Yet, these practices should not be separated from questions of politics and power (Alasuutari, 1995). Therefore, exploring the everyday interactions and behaviours of sport fandom such as casual comments and taken-for-granted fan behaviours in a social media environment can further our knowledge of sport consumer behaviour.

4.1.2.2.1 Sport fan culture.

Few studies have explored the concept of culture in sport fandom. Crawford and Gosling (2004) found that an introduction into a fan base requires that an individual adopts the social norms as well as accepts and learns the culture in order to be part of the group. Importantly, Crawford (2004) noted that “being a fan is primarily a consumer act
and hence fans can be seen first and foremost as consumers” (p.4), to which Wenner (2013) drew the conclusion that consumer culture is fused with sporting identities and explains how fans interact. While it has been argued that fans (both sport and non-sport related) are ‘prosumers’ who both consume (e.g., watch and purchase) and produce (e.g., through online discussions and rituals at sport games) sport (e.g., Crawford, 2004; Gibbons & Dixon, 2010), Heere and James (2007) noted that fans “are members of an organization who are committed to its existence” (p. 323). It is then possible to view fans as part of the organizational culture as members and consumers.

Culture, even when not the main focus, is present in some sport fan studies both implicitly and explicitly. Some research mentions culture only to provide context, justifications, or explanations. Cleland and Cashmore’s (2014, 2016) work discussed how racism is part of European football culture. Additionally, Jones (2008) also noted that there is a sexist culture within the same context. Other studies have sought to explore the culture of particular fan groups. Palmer and Thompson (2007) explored what norms and values were part of an Australian football fans’ group identity and culture using social capital theory. They noted that drinking, wearing a uniform (i.e., specific shirts created by a highly-identified group of fans), and being an ‘in your face’ type fan is part of this fan group’s culture (Palmer & Thompson, 2007). Back, Crabbe, and Soloman (2001) recognized that sport fan cultures establish criteria such as loyalty, attending games, knowledge, and drinking to determine authenticity of fandom. They found that sport fans can distinguish themselves as ‘authentic’ compared to those who do not adopt these norms. Amato and colleagues (2005) explored NASCAR fan culture through a quantitative survey. They also suggested that authenticity is essential in fan cultures and
therefore, categorized NASCAR fans into three subcultures: casual, moderate, or hardcore. Those who were moderate and hardcore were viewed as authentic since they were emotionally, intellectually, and behaviorally connected to the sport, and were financially, socially, and psychologically committed.

Dixon’s (2012) work placed a significant emphasis on culture when he explored the origins of European football fandom and how fans become socialized into culture. His findings demonstrated that fathers were the primary influence in the consumption of football fandom knowledge and in supporting a particular team. Therefore, fandom is learned from the family with parents, fathers in particular, passing on knowledge and traditions. Other sources of influence included a spouse or a friend, computer games, and media. Hughson and Free (2006) used Willis’ theories of cultural commodities to explore culture and European football fans. They recognized that sport is a product but it is also an experience that individuals assign meaning to. They found that by resisting corporate intrusion into a soccer club in England, fans demonstrated shared meanings of viewing soccer as an important cultural element of the local community.

Norman (2014) explored members’ posts in blogs related to ice hockey. He found that there is a relationship between hockey as Canadian culture and the masculine culture of hockey. Norman noted that this online blog community was a metaphorical pub in that it exhibited masculinity that is associated with hockey and sports bars. He also noted that this space allows for the historical cultural meaning of hockey to be challenged, as members sought to express group affiliation with individual identities. While these studies have provided insight into sport fan culture, I turn to two conceptual frameworks that can provide awareness into how discourses are used to create cultural boundaries
between multiple groups. Studying culture from a critical perspective results in research that does not: “repeat old ‘truths’, [but] find[s] out about new points that contribute to the scientific and public discourse on social phenomena” (Alasuutari, 1995, p. 2).

4.1.3 Conceptual frameworks.

4.1.3.1 Critical discourse studies.

Discourse analysis (DA) is the exploration of language use (Gee & Handford, 2012) and how language contributes to social reality (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). While there are many definitions of discourse, I employ Fairclough’s (2012) description of “semiotic ways of construing aspects of the world (physical, social or mental) that can generally be identified with different positions or perspectives of different groups of social actors” (p. 11). Discourses are represented in texts and therefore, texts are “considered a discursive ‘unit’ and a material manifestation of discourse” (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 70). For the purpose of this work, I used tweets as a form of written text to explore sport fandom.

To bring in the critique of a predominantly functionalist perspective, I call specifically on critical discourse studies (CDS), a branch of DA. CDS is defined as “an interdisciplinary approach to language in use, which aims to advance our understanding of discourse figures in social processes, social structures and social change” (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p. 1). This approach can be used to understand how language effectively supports or challenges cultural and social structures and processes (Machin & Mayr, 2012). While CDS lacks a consistent theoretical viewpoint, the unifying element is

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5 CDS is used here to refer to theoretical approach, and critical discourse analysis will be used to refer to the methodological and analytical processes.
a common interest in how discourse structures are used to produce, reproduce, or resist social dominance (Wodak & Meyer, 2016; van Dijk, 2016).

There are multiple approaches in CDS. This study has called upon van Dijk’s (2016) work to explore how sport fans create cultural boundaries through ideological discourse structures. These structures include polarization (i.e., positive in-group representation and negative out-group representation), pronouns (i.e., using our/we versus they/their), emphasizing positive self-description and negative other description, and norms and values. Due to ideological influence on social attitudes (i.e., opinions of group members), ideologies can control the meaning during text production and consumption. For example, as a woman and a fan, when I see social media content that discounts women as fans, I view it from a feminist perspective and feel frustrated and upset. Therefore, ideologies indirectly influence the interpretation of discourses.

van Dijk (2006) also noted that ideologies dictate what cultural values are relevant for particular groups. In sport fandom, these values could be loyalty or commitment to a team, behaviours that demonstrate authenticity. Ideologies can also serve to legitimate domination, or they can be used in resistance, which can aid in determining how ideologies contribute to cultural boundaries. van Dijk noted that while ideologies are socially shared, not all members know the ideologies equally well. In addition, not all members will identify with an ideological group in the same way, or as strongly, meaning people can be members of these groups to varying extents. These characteristics of ideologies open the connection to cultural boundaries in that Martin (2002) discussed that not all members of a culture are equally participating and may belong to multiple cultures or subcultures.
4.1.3.2 Cultural boundaries.

Cultures are often viewed, in the past and present, as being separate and distinct. For example, Fiske (1992) noted, in regards to popular fan culture, that boundaries of what is considered part of fandom and what is not are distinct and sharply drawn. These boundaries of fan communities are strongly guarded and divided. He noted that fans debate about what characteristics allow someone to cross over the boundary into ‘true’ or ‘authentic’ fandom. From a different perspective, Martin (2002) argued that cultures can overlap causing blurred edges and members to draw boundaries for distinction. Martin conceptualized cultural boundaries in five ways. First, they are moveable. This means that they are not confined to a particular geographic location. For example, an Oakland Raiders fan living in New York could still be part of the ‘Raider Nation’ culture. Second, they fluctuate and can change over time. For example, while sport fan culture has often been associated with masculinity, Pope (2017) found that feminization of sport audiences is occurring (i.e., cultural values are shifting). Third, they are permeable. That is, people can move in and out of cultures as well as belong to numerous and intersecting collectivities that are embedded in a cultural identity. This conceptualization of boundaries corresponds to Heere and James’ (2007) Multiple In Group Model, and Lock and Funk’s (2016) Multiple In-Group Identity Framework, as both studies acknowledged that sport fans have external identities that intersect with their fan identities. Fourth, they are blurred. Boundaries are negotiated and are not objectively defined and agreed upon by all. Fifth and last, they are dangerous. Since boundaries are blurry instead of secured, people can become uncomfortable. As a result, they will try to reinforce boundaries so that they are solid, impenetrable, and clear, becoming a source of safety and security.
This notion that boundaries are reinforced and undermined simultaneously is the root of their cultural production.

In attempting to draw boundaries, there is no such thing as absolute objectivity; subjective and varied experiences must be included in understanding the culture. This subjectivity allows for multiple viewpoints and considers the variations of intensity in which people participate in a culture. The other benefit of including subjectivity in culture is that it moves away from the notion that culture is shared equally by all involved. Beyond the insider/outsider status of individuals, Martin also suggests that what (e.g., concepts, ideologies, or behaviours) is in and out should also be considered in drawing boundaries. This approach focuses on culture as a subjective term, recognizing that the edges are socially constructed. When members of a culture are not in complete agreement, several social constructions can co-exist. Alasuutari (1995) further explains: “the way to which we react and respond to boundaries we encounter will always depend on the interpretations we make” (p. 29). Martin’s (2002) perspective of cultural boundaries acknowledges that they may not be fixed, impenetrable, and permanent. Combining CDS with this framework explores how cultural boundaries are drawn, reinforced, or challenged through ideological discourses of sport fandom.

4.1.4 Purpose.

The purpose of this research was to explore how sport fans create cultural boundaries, using discourses, in a social media environment. The research questions are: 1. What are the cultural boundaries drawn by fans of a particular team on Twitter? 2. What discourses are being used to draw boundaries? 3. Which ideologies are present in
these discourses? 4. How does drawing cultural boundaries represent the inclusive and/or exclusive nature of sport fandom in social media environments?

**4.1.5 Methodology.**

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used as a methodology for this study. It is suggested that using ‘naturally occurring’ text is ideal for discourse analysis, as it is actual examples of language in use (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). To explore broader societal discourses, one should choose texts that are disseminated widely, such as via social media (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Taking a critical approach allows for the exploration of culture in sport fandom and exposing a component of fan experiences that exclusion may be as present as inclusion. Fundamentally, CDA is focused on being ‘critical’. That is, any social phenomena can be critically studied, not taken-for-granted, and contested (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). With no set guidelines, it is suggested that decisions of how to use this methodology be related to the research questions, goals, and methods of data collection (McGannon, 2017). This study’s goal was to conceptualize how language in tweets relates to challenging dominant sport fan ideologies through discourses. To answer the research questions, I used individual tweets to critically explore how sport fans create cultural boundaries.

**4.1.5.1 Data collection.**

Visual Twitter Analytics (Vista) was used to collect data over the 2017 season (April 3rd - Sept. 27th) for the Toronto Blue Jays (Major League Baseball). Vista is a software program that collects tweets in real time, providing interactive and visual

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6 Due to an issue with the software, tweets for the last four games of the season were not collected (the last game was played on October 1st).
analysis of individual tweets (Hoeber, Hoeber, El Meseery, Odoh, & Gopi, 2016). This software collects large amounts of data, which enables qualitative researchers to conduct previously unfeasible studies, as they would often sacrifice obtaining important information to have a smaller and more manageable sample size. The visual representation allows the researcher to inductively view the data and use visuals to identify patterns (Hoeber et al., 2016).

Eleven queries were entered into the program, however only two were used for this study: #LetsRise (official hashtag of the Blue Jays for the 2017 season) and #BlueJays. These hashtags were not only the most frequently used, but also represented tweets that ranged in a variety of tones (i.e., positive, negative, and neutral), which aided in understanding the varying ways fans are discussing fandom. To narrow the data, the two hashtags were searched for the terms ‘fan’, ‘fans’, and ‘fandom’, which resulted in 17,993 tweets. Retweets and media tweets were removed to place emphasis on fan-produced texts and discourses, which left 4,235 original tweets from 2,123 unique accounts.

For the purpose of this study, I refer to the individuals tweeting as fans. I chose this label due to taking a broader approach to fandom, recognizing that fans can exhibit a variety of traits and varying levels of identification and loyalty. Additionally, these people were using their discretionary time to discuss the Blue Jays and interact with other fans, suggesting at the very least, they are interested in the Blue Jays or baseball.

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7 It is possible that a user had more than one account. This represents the unique usernames that tweeted.
8 I also used the term ‘user’ to refer to an individual who communicates on Twitter.
Occasionally, I interpreted that the user was a fan by searching their profile and picture for indications of support for the team.

**4.1.5.2 Data analysis.**

Following an inductive approach, the data (4,235 tweets) were read five times to determine patterns of responses. Once I narrowed down the discourses used to discuss fandom, 1,095 tweets were selected that represented the patterns. These tweets were categorized based on sentiment of tweet (i.e., positive/unity), and subject of the tweet (i.e., speaking about fans of the same team or fans of different teams). During the categorization process, I recognized discourses within the categories, in that fans were using and/or challenging discourses of loyalty, unity, and consumption. Identifying discourses occurred through a process of “moving within and between the texts and also the different discourses in the literature” (McGannon, 2017, p. 239). After refining the discourses, Fairclough’s (1995a) three-dimensional analysis was employed on 158 tweets by 144 unique accounts (reaching data saturation) that represented the three common discourses.

Fairclough (1995a) noted that to critically investigate discourses, the relationship between three dimensions of that event must be analyzed: text (e.g., spoken or written words), discourse practice (i.e., the process of text production and consumption), and social practice (i.e., the cultural and social contexts that the event is part of) (Fairclough, 1995a). This three-dimensional analytical framework is one of the most well-known and discussed frameworks in CDA and has received praise for its elaborate and well-developed structure (e.g., Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). In addition to this framework, emphasis was placed on ideological discourse structures to
establish where cultural boundaries were being drawn (van Dijk, 2016). Structures that were used include: polarization (i.e., positive in-group representation and negative out-group representation), pronouns (i.e., using our/we versus they/their), emphasis on positive self-description and negative other description, and norms and values (van Dijk, 2016).

To demonstrate the three-dimensional analysis process, I will use the tweet “You know you're doing something right when an opposing teams fans hate ya #LetsRISE” from the data as an example. In the first step, text is analyzed. I pulled out specific terms such as ‘you’re’. While ‘you’ is often used to distinguish from ‘me’, in this case, ‘you’re’ refers to a collective, demonstrating shared understandings of fan behaviour. As well ‘something right’ demonstrates the idea that there are rules or norms to follow in ‘acceptable’ fan behaviour. In the second level, which looks at the interpretation of the tweet, it is possible to see how the demonstration of hate is representative of something that can unite fans. When a teams’ fans feel negative emotion, it results in self-confidence, positivity, and/or unity for fans of the rival team. Dominant discourses in fandom can be pulled from the text, such as how opposing teams and their fans are viewed as enemies or rivals. Therefore, the ‘right type’ of behaviours or team dynamic is based on creating anger or hate in opposing teams’ fans. In the third dimension, focusing on sociocultural contexts, I would recognize how identity allow us to connect, but they are also sources of division. That is, one must abide by norms to gain a sense of belonging to a particular culture.

To ensure excellence of this work, a relativist standpoint towards trustworthiness was used. This approach focuses on incorporating relevant quality markers based on the
purpose and goals of the research (Burke, 2017). I have called upon some criteria from Tracy’s (2010) list. Rich rigor is evident in the application of an interdisciplinary approach in using two conceptual constructs, collecting data over an entire season (six months), and spending five months on the data analysis process. Credibility is evident in the thick description provided in the findings, along with triangulation from multiple frameworks (Tracy, 2010).

4.1.5.3 Researcher position.

In CDS, it is important to be self-reflective. Being a highly-identified sport fan and a researcher of sport fan experiences, I have been working with discourses that are familiar to me. In this regard, I recognize sincerity, which is honesty and transparency about my own goals and biases, as part of the research process (Tracy, 2010). It was important that I treat the discourses as systems of meaning that have been socially constructed and that could have a meaning different to my understanding, belief, and interpretation (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). To do so, I have kept my position in mind in relation to the discourses as well as how I have contributed to their production (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). This occurred through keeping a reflective journal while reading and analyzing the data, as well as providing thick description of the CDA processes that I have used. One entry in my journal demonstrates the reflection process:

My understanding of language comes from dominant ideas in society. However, words like ‘should’ have particular meaning to me. Growing up, I was encouraged to never ‘should’ someone, as it implies I know more than them. It means I am placed in a better position to tell someone what to do instead of
allowing them to figure it out. I view this word as associated with power, using it
dictates how one establishes the acceptable norms and behaviours of fandom.

In going through this process, I was not looking to determine what is right or wrong, but
rather focus on what has been written by “exploring patterns in and across the statements
and identifying the social consequences of different discursive representation of reality”
(Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 21). Beginning with a large dataset aided in exploring
various patterns of text, which eventually was narrowed down to answer the research
questions.

4.1.6 Findings.

Cultural boundaries were drawn and established based on dominant discourses of
fan behaviours. Specifically, fans drew upon discourses of loyalty, consumption, and
unity to distinguish a central fan culture from fans of other MLB teams, other Blue Jays
fans, and management and ownership of the team (see Figure 1). There was plurality in
the use of particular discourses. That is, while some fans reinforced loyalty, consumption,
and unity as essential to fan culture, other fans challenged their universality. As
demonstrated in Figure 1, each group was viewed as being part of the central fan culture
when discourses were reinforced, and each group was pushed out of the central cultural
boundary when the discourses were challenged. The overlap and transparency of each
separate group in the figure recognizes the blurred and permeable nature of the
boundaries drawn.

It is worth noting that the discourses of unity were dominant in the larger dataset
of tweets. For the purpose of this work, I explored beyond the positive aspects of
discourses to focus on how they can be challenged. The sample of tweets chosen
represents how fans reinforced and challenged discourses to demonstrate the way cultural boundaries are moveable, blurred, permeable, fluctuate, and dangerous. Of note, tweets are also presented verbatim to preserve the authenticity of how language was used on Twitter.

Figure 4.1. Cultural boundaries of sport fandom on Twitter

As CDS focuses on the “contextually specific meanings of language use” (Gee & Handford, 2012, p.1), I will provide relevant information to position the data. The Blue Jays had two successful years in 2015 and 2016, making it to the American League Championship Series each season. The 2017 season had them off to their worst start ever at 1-9, finishing the season with a disappointing 76-86. After two promising seasons, they did not make it to the playoffs and were plagued by injuries. Yet, the fans’ continued support was evident in the Blue Jays finishing first in attendance in the American League with 3.2 million over the season. It must be recognized that the team performance may affect the ways in which cultural boundaries are drawn by fans. In addition, Watanabe,
Yan, and Soebbing (2015) suggested that team performance could influence the number of followers on Twitter for MLB teams, recognizing the important role of performance over a season.

4.1.6.1 Establishing a central fan culture.

In order to examine how cultural boundaries are drawn, and then reinforced and undermined simultaneously, the central fan culture must first be established. The central fan culture was based on three behaviours commonly discussed within the data: in-group favouritism, demonstrating loyalty to the team, and consumption of fandom. In-group favouritism was demonstrated in tweets such as: “Love the #BlueJays no matter what. We're the best fans in baseball. Supporting our team win or lose.” Loyalty was also often overtly displayed: “I have been a Jays fan since I was 10 and I will continue to support the #BlueJays until the day I die. #LetsRISE.” Consumption was discussed in relation to watching games, purchasing merchandise, or attending games as shown in this tweet: “All #BlueJays fans who have been in attendance throughout this tsunami of a month of April; give yourself a pat on the back. We're true fans.” Other work has shown that loyalty and consumption are part of becoming psychological, behaviorally, and attitudinally connected to the team (e.g., Crawford, 2004; Funk & James, 2004). These two behaviours (loyalty and consumption) also reinforce aspects of unity such as providing a sense of belonging and gaining social connections through team identification (e.g., Wann, 2006). While these findings are well documented, little has focused on the ways in which fans challenge these discourses. The rest of the findings discuss the plurality of discourses of loyalty, unity, and consumption in that they are supported, resisted, and challenged through sport fan ideologies.
4.1.6.2 Discourses of loyalty.

Discourses of loyalty were used and reinforced in the central fan culture via comments about cheering for the team regardless of performance, demonstrating positive support, self-identifying as a loyal fan, and by speaking to the definition of being a ‘true’ or real fan. The findings in this section discuss Blue Jays fans’ own perception of their identities and behaviours that may challenge the central fan culture. They also drew boundaries around other Blue Jays fans by challenging their loyalty, and around management by questioning whether the team demonstrates loyalty to the fan base.

Some tweets demonstrated tensions which existed along the cultural boundaries. A few fans challenged their own loyalty, placing themselves on the edges of the central fan boundary, by commenting on the struggles of supporting a poorly performing team: “There's only so much even a die hard #BlueJays fan can take. #latergators.” This suggests that even fans who are dedicated and have a strong identity with the team may waver in loyalty during poor team performance. With attitudinal loyalty playing a role in team identification (e.g., Funk & James, 2004; Gray & Wert-Gray, 2012), this tweet suggests that fans, perhaps using social media, are able to exert their power as consumers in that they can choose not to consume if they are dissatisfied with the product. This user is also self-identifying as a diehard fan but not adhering to the common norms. In fact, they are doing the opposite. The diverse performances of sport fandom indicate the problematic nature of creating dichotomies and typologies of fans when they do not always fit into pre-defined categories (Crawford, 2004). However, focusing on the culture allows for the exploration of multiple perspectives of fandom. Other tweets also demonstrated a lack of positive support due to the lackluster season: “OK, I'm a terrible
fan, but I am sick to death of losing!!! #BlueJays UGH!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!” and “Man does it ever suck being a fan of one the worst teams in the majors! #bluejays.” While these fans took to Twitter to complain, they remained committed to the team by self-identifying as fans. This behaviour reinforces loyalty as an essential component to fandom.

Other fans challenged loyalty by acknowledging a lower identification with the team. While being a ‘part-time’ fan can have negative connotations, some users explicitly expressed their identity as such: “I've just learned that the baseball season is starting again. It means I can go back to being a part time #BlueJays fan” and “not the biggest baseball fan but #letsrise.” With both these tweets occurring within the first three days of the season and the successful previous seasons, these actions likely relate to BIRGing (basking in reflected glory), in which fans seek association with a successful team for self-esteem and vicarious achievement purposes (Campbell, Aiken, & Kent, 2004). Some acknowledged their behaviours as being ‘fairweather’: “Been the worst #bluejays fan this game (pretty much this season). Excited fan when things going well and utter pessimist when they suck.” This type of behaviour can be viewed as demonstrating lower levels of commitment, but still retaining one’s identity with the team.

Some fans engaged in policing behaviors towards those who did not display high levels of loyalty. In doing so, they viewed cultural boundaries as dangerous (in that they attempted to secure the boundaries when they were being tested) and reinforced this behaviour: “Stay the course #Bluejays fans. It's hard to watch, but be a good fan during the good, the bad and even the ugly.” Through the use of language, this user is reinforcing the concept of being a ‘good’ fan with being a ‘loyal’ fan. Other types of
behaviours, such as being a bandwagon fan, are unacceptable. Tweets with similar meanings were also present: “Being a true #BlueJays fan shd be akin to a nurturing parent: supportive thru thick & thin, feast or famine & when they do good or bad.” These fan-produced texts suggest there are defined rules of how to be a ‘true’ fan, which involves constant positive support, even when it may not be enjoyable to be a fan. This could be an example of basking in spite of reflected failure (BIRF), which “may be deemed loyalist behavior, wherein a fan remains loyal to the team (as a branded product) regardless of team failures” (Campbell et al., 2004, p. 153).

The acceptance or rejection of certain behaviours related to loyalty contributed to the blurring of cultural boundaries. One tension at the boundaries related to booing one’s own team. Research has suggested that for women sport fans, demonstrating positive support is a foundational characteristic of fandom (Sveinson & Hoeber, 2015). However, some fans encouraged booing their own team during a poor performance: “These fans better boo this team off the field so hard it hurts. What a bloody embarrassment #BlueJays” and “Appeared from TV that fans were booing Bautista after that K [strike out] and rightfully so. #bluejays.” The use of ‘K’ in this tweet demonstrates cultural knowledge and therefore, those who do not possess this type of knowledge can be excluded from the conversation. Both of these tweets suggest that team performance allows negative behaviours and challenges the concept that fans must always demonstrate positive support and loyalty. Others viewed booing as completely unacceptable: “I’m frustrated too, but the first boo I hear from #BlueJays 'fans' and i may throat punch peeps! #LetsRISE #faith” and “So-called fans who boo their own team are a disgrace. Hey, fair-weather fans: What will you do when #BlueJays get on inevitable hot streak?” In these
two tweets, polarization is occurring through using quotation marks and the term ‘so-called’ to refer to fans. Using quotation marks around the word ‘fans’ in this grammatical manner (i.e., through sarcasm) suggests that these types of behaviours do not come from authentic fans and are not portraying the loyalty necessary in fandom. These findings demonstrate the fluctuating nature of cultural boundaries, in that some view booing as appropriate based on team performance, while others reinforce the idea that ‘negative’ behaviour, like booing, is never acceptable as a ‘real’ fan.

Discourses of loyalty were also used to distinguish Blue Jays fans from other teams’ fans. Not only would they speak negatively of opposing fans, but texts involving violence and domination were used to create distinction: “Okay, boys. Let's spank 'em. My favorite Orioles fans are the subdued kind. #BlueJays #Orioles.” Insults were also used to engage in out-group degradation: “Shut up classless Os [Orioles] fans booing Jose9 #LetsRISE.” Fans use blasting (conveying negative statements about others he or she does not want to be associated with) to create separation and reinforce identities of fans of a particular team (Delia, 2015). It is loyalty to a team that must be demonstrated, creating a lack of unity among fans of the sport. This type of behaviour relates to social identity complexity, which represents high exclusivity in which one identity (i.e., a Blue Jays fan) takes priority over shared identity (i.e., baseball fan) (Delia, 2015).

In certain tweets, fans challenged management’s loyalty to the team and their fans. Some fans critiqued the management of the team in regards to the players and leadership whilst trying to display their loyalty: “#BlueJays I think it's possible to be a good fan & still be disappointed in mgmt's lack of improvement over the off season.

9 Jose Bautista was a left fielder for the Toronto Blue Jays in 2017.
Never boo tho” and “I’m still a #BlueJays fan. Not a bandwagoner. But I find that many of the organization's decisions this season are questionable. That's it.” These fans demonstrated that they belong to the central fan culture, and then questioned how the team is being managed. Blurring the boundaries then becomes a less offensive act for them. Others critiqued management without concern: “Blindly accepting poor player decisions by management doesn't mean you're a 'true fan' it just means you're gullible, or stupid. #BlueJays.” This tweet resists the notion that a fan must always positively support the team. While fan research discusses how fan loyalty is a significant part of team identification (Funk & James, 2004; Gray & Wert-Gray, 2012), fans are still able to use their power, via social media, to voice displeasure.

4.1.6.3 Discourses of consumption.

Crawford (2004) noted that fans are first and foremost consumers, which was reinforced in this study, as consumption was crucial to the central fan culture. In this section of the findings, I first demonstrate how consumption was reinforced as essential to the culture through attendance and traveling to games. Fans also drew boundaries around other Blue Jays fans and other MLB fans for either their lack of consumption, or not consuming in ‘authentic’ ways. Finally, cultural boundaries were challenged with management when fans showed disappointment with increased ticket prices and less than desirable game day experiences.

Sport fans with high degrees of team identification frequently engage in sport-related consumption (e.g., Gray & Wert-Gray, 2012; Fink et al., 2002). Many tweets from this study reinforced that consumption (i.e., watching, attending, traveling to games, and purchasing merchandise) is part of the dominant sport fan ideology. Positive in-group
representation was evident when fans celebrated attendance: “A shout out to #bluejays fans - 3.2M in attendance at RC [Rogers Center] this season, plus who knows many more at road games. Well done. #jays” and “#BlueJays sold out a day game, in the middle of the week, while in last place and seven games under .500. Canadian fans are the best. #MLB.” The last tweet reinforces the importance of consuming in fan culture, by bragging that fans are spending money on an unsatisfactory product. This user is also pulling on discourses of patriotism (Canadian fans) to display unity, and demonstrating the moveable function of the cultural boundaries, by assuming all Canadian fans can attend games when the team only plays in Toronto.

This positive in-group representation extended to Blue Jays fans who travelled to away games: “Love seeing all the #BlueJays fans at Wrigley. Makes me smile, seeing the fans travelling far and wide to support our guys!” and “I get chills seeing the crowds at Safeco field this is amazing Toronto has the best fans ever #LetsRise.” These tweets also demonstrate positive self-descriptions, in the using of ‘I’ and ‘me’ to display individual identity, in addition to demonstrating ingroup favouritism towards those who display desirable fan behaviors (i.e., traveling to games). Green and Jones (2005) discussed how subculture membership is an important aspect of fans who engage in serious leisure tourism. Those fans who travel may be committed by needs and expectations of others, and not always their own personal reasons.

Consumption, as an essential element to Blue Jays fan culture, went a step further when fans would tweet explanations as to why they were not consuming: “I might have to turn in my #BlueJays fan card, but I must turn off the game and go to sleep. I'm jet-lagging, & had a long day. Sorry…” This tweet alludes to the idea that being a fan of a
team provides membership to a group. Additionally, not watching the game and/or turning off the game before it is over is the definition of a ‘bad’ fan, meaning they are not complying with the ‘rules’ of the membership. Furthermore, some Blue Jays fans would critique members of their own fanbase on their consumption behaviours: “#bluejays #letsrise im ok if fans mock people at jays games wearing those vomit inducing red jerseys or nightmare black jays crap” and “Do you think when #BlueJays fans that wear cheesy knockoff counterfeit jerseys know they're wearing cheesy counterfeit knockoff jerseys?” This illustrates that while consumption is necessary to the culture of fandom, there are still norms associated. While wearing clothing allows fans to identify with the team (e.g., Derbaix & Decrop, 2011; Sveinson, Hoeber, & Toffoletti, in press), these users suggest that there are unacceptable items to wear. Other users have proposed that consumption practices may not always be in line with authentic intentions: “Must be time for all 'the fans' to get their hats, jerseys etc... back out of the closet. #bluejays.” Using quotation connotes sarcasm, in that real fans always wear their clothes, but less authentic fans only wear clothing during the season. This tweet demonstrates how cultural boundaries can be blurred even when members have some agreement on what (i.e., consuming) is part of the culture. Additionally, it reinforces the role of authenticity in dominant fan ideologies.

Consumption was commonly used as a marker of authentic fandom. One fan commented on the lack of official merchandise worn by other MLB fans: “Anyone notice that almost none of the people you see on TV are wearing Atlanta gear? Are they even real fans? #BlueJays.” In this case, not wearing team-related merchandise was used for negative outgroup representation. This behaviour extended to attendance, in which some
Blue Jays fans critiqued other fan bases: “Baltimore's Opening Day attendance is pathetic. What happened to all the team's so-called fans? #LetsRise.” Some fans made fun of other teams, “‘LOL’ at @Indians twitter bragging about sellouts when stadium is half #BlueJays fans. #Indians”, while others took a more aggressive approach, “Mariners fans bitching about Jays fans taking over Safeco. If it bothers you that much, buy some more fucking tickets next season #BlueJays.” Through the use of the pronouns ‘you’, verbs such as ‘bitching’, and adjectives such as ‘fucking’, the polarization of other MLB fans is evident.

Sport fans spend significant amounts of money consuming sport in multiple forms, to the organization’s benefit. Some fans on Twitter challenged the requirement of consuming when they felt the team’s management and ownership were not demonstrating loyalty to the fan base. As mentioned, the Blue Jays had two successful seasons in 2015 and 2016. In late July 2017, when the team’s record was 48-55, it was announced that ticket prices would be increasing in 2018 by 17%. Fans reacted in anger over this increase: “#BlueJays Rogers SERIOUSLY 17% price increase! Hope you enjoyed the full dome while it lasted! Shame on you for stabbing the LOYAL fans!” This tweet represents both positive in-group (loyal fans), negative outgroup representation (the ownership), and polarization (you). Not only do these comments create separation between fans and ownership, it also demonstrates how fans assume power roles (“hope you enjoyed the full dome while it lasted”) in that they are using Twitter to speak on behalf of others. Additionally, not only is the term ‘loyal’ capitalized for emphasis, but this use of language also assumes that only loyal fans attend games and therefore, increasing prices only affects those specific fans. ‘Loyal’ could also be emphasized due
to the continued attendance from Blue Jays fans during a poor performing season. Part of the culture of sport fandom could be the assumption that mutual loyalty and respect exists between fans and management. Fans may recognize their power as consumers, yet it does not seem to prevent them from spending, as Blue Jays fans spent $83 million on gate receipts in 2017 (“Toronto Blue Jays”, 2018).

One fan used sarcasm to discuss the change in price: “Clearly the #BlueJays are out of touch with fans. Thanks for coming out and supporting a shit team, so we'll have to raise the ticket prices.” The term ‘clearly’ here suggests there is agreement, that fans share this perspective, on how the price change is perceived. Using ‘out of touch with fans’ to refer to the idea that the organization does not know how to manage and understand their fan base is an analytical theme in other tweets relating to disappointing game day experiences: “Nothing like a little Adele love song to get #BlueJays fans pumped up! #fail” and “How come other teams’ fans get post game concerts and fireworks and all #BlueJays fans get are hosed at concessions?” Fans have significant power as consumers, yet when being an authentic fan is tied to consumption, they can be taken advantage of by the sport organization. Fans may complain about game day experiences but a desire to maintain authenticity as central to sport fan ideologies results, for the most part, in embracing common fan consumption practices.

4.1.6.4 Discourses of unity.

Sport fandom has been viewed as a unifying activity, in that it can provide a sense of belonging to a community (Crawford, 2004; Wann, 2006). Therefore, it is no surprise that discourses of unity were present, as much research has focused on the social identity of sport fans (e.g., Delia, 2015; Green & Jones, 2005). While unity was primarily
reinforced as part of the central fan culture, it also presented in alternative ways. This occurred when Blue Jays fans shared the misery of a poor performing season, and when it was suggested they use their collective power to encourage management to make organizational changes, drawing boundaries between the fans and management. Conversely, unity with other Blue Jays was challenged when they displayed a ‘lack of knowledge’ of the normal behaviours, drawing boundaries based on acceptable fan behaviour.

During the Blue Jays’ poor performance in the 2017 season, fans drew upon unity to get through challenging times: “Misery loves company. Glad we've got lots of #bluejays fans on twitter to hang out with.” This suggests that being ‘miserable’ as a collective brings people together. It also recognizes Twitter as an important virtual space for sport fans to build community and camaraderie, similar to other studies (e.g., Starvos, Weng, Westberg, & Farrelly, 2014). This was evident in other tweets as well: “My only solace in the Jays' completely uninspiring season is that other fans are sharing my pain. Love you all. #LetsRise.” This behaviour suggests that during struggling performances, social media content from sport organizations could continue to emphasize unity.

Other fans used the concept of unity to demonstrate power: “#BlueJays I think it's time the fans stick together and send a message ...don't attend the games don't watch the games.” This user, who posted midway through the season, is suggesting that fans boycott the team until their performance improves. This creates a blurry boundary as there is still an expectation to be fans (i.e., one cannot be disloyal or stop being a fan altogether), but it is possible to use collective power to voice dissatisfaction with team performance. Due to fan identities being central to an individual’s self-concept
(Crawford, 2004), discourses of unity were rarely challenged towards management and ownership. So, while fans are willing to push the boundaries by not always accepting the management practices of the team, they are still committed via identity. This fan performance relates to the ideological concept of fandom, in that loyalty is one the most foundational requirements to being viewed as authentic. As much as fans may be displeased with management and ownership, they may be unwilling to stop being fans entirely.

Discourses of unity are predominantly found as essential in the central fan culture. The grand notion of sport fandom being unifying was challenged by continuing to draw rigid boundaries between fans of other MLB teams. That is, unity may only be for fans of the same team. This suggests that the identity with the team is more salient than the identity with the sport as there was not much unity among fans of baseball. However, some Blue Jays fans challenged the unity within the same team by judging other Jays fans over a lack of knowledge and what they consider ‘bad’ behaviours, such as doing the wave.

Lack of shared knowledge was used as a way to draw cultural boundaries around other fans of the same team: “Jesus if another dumb ass fan links the Jays losing to Encarnacion I'm fucking going to lose it. #bluejays.” After 11 years with the team, Edwin Encarnacion (who was often successful at bat) was traded. This user polarizes other fans not only by using negative outgroup representation, but also in lexical choice by insulting one’s baseball intelligence (‘dumb ass fans’). This tweet exposes the hostility that can exist between fans of the same team based on differing understandings of norms, which meant not only possessing knowledge but possessing the ‘right kind’ of knowledge.
Many fans tweeted about other Blue Jays fans’ behaviours at games. Even if those on Twitter were not attending the game, which could result in questioning their loyalty through consumption, they chastised fans who interfered during play. Tweets often used knowledge to polarize these fans: “Someone let that ‘fan’ know they through balls into the stands all the time so maybe when it's in play GET OUT OF THE WAY #BlueJays”, “I hope security kicks out that girl that tried to grab that live ball. Some fans are so dumb ugh. #BlueJays”, and “How is it, fans at the game don't know the fucking rules about interfering with balls in play and costing us runs? #BlueJays #Jays.” In the first tweet, ‘fan’ is put in quotation marks which alludes to the idea that anyone who interferes with a ball in play is not really a true fan, as they do not know the rules. In the last tweet, it may be assumed that all fans who attend games are highly identified, and thus should know all the rules. However, plenty of research has demonstrated multiple motives for attending games, including socializing and entertainment (e.g., Wann, Grieve, Zapalac, & Pease, 2008). Nonetheless, there is an expectation of being part of the culture and displaying behaviours that adhere to the norms.

This type of exclusionary online behaviour continued, as fans critiqued those who engaged in the wave. Overall, there was a negative attitude towards this game day behaviour: “Oh #BlueJays fans not the wave. #banthewave.” Often, knowledge used to ostracize this type of behaviour: “Fans trying to start wave in bottom of 8th with most important AB [at bat] of the game. Classic #bluejays”, “Why do fans do the wave when their pitcher is pitching? #BlueJays” and “Stupid fans doing the wave when #BlueJays are batting. An insult to our team, especially when Bautista is batting. #TeamNoWave.” These tweets demonstrate polarization through embracing knowledge as a value
associated with the team culture, in addition to suggesting there are some rules about when it is accepted to do the wave (if ever). When fans engage in behaviours that do not represent these values, cultural boundaries are drawn. Discourses of unity are then challenged through exposing how unity is not automatic when cheering for the same team, as knowledge is a requirement to be accepted into the culture and group.

4.1.7 Conclusion.

This research contributes to sociology of sport, sport management, and specifically sport consumer behaviour knowledge by demonstrating how sport fan discourses on a societal level associate with the everyday fan experiences at the local level. Taking a critical approach has resulted in new knowledge by deconstructing discourses produced and consumed by sport fans. Using discourses of loyalty, consumption, and unity, sport fans could draw culture boundaries for a particular team’s culture. The use of loyalty and consumption discourses reiterate previous work that fans pull from dominant fan ideologies such as authenticity to define culture (Amato et al., 2005; Back, et al., 2001; Fiske, 1992). While it was often expected that sport fans strictly abide by these discourses, findings showed that they could be challenged, causing cultural boundaries to be blurred, fluctuate, and permeable. Similar to Norman’s (2014) findings, virtual spaces become mediums where fans can contest dominant cultures. Challenging the boundaries exposes that culture is not always shared in that every fan does not equally agree to the norms (Martin, 2002). Furthermore, it demonstrates the divisive nature that is inherent in sport fandom. While this tends to be between fans of opposing teams, it also can occur within a team’s fan base.
Using critical discourse studies and critical discourse analysis exposed how language is used to legitimize and maintain forms of inequality and social power (Fairclough, 2012). Power in this circumstance refers to exercising control over values and ideas that are used to create society (Bouvier & Machin, 2018). In the context of this study, sport fans used their voice on Twitter in a powerful manner to project cultural norms and behaviours of fandom, creating simultaneously blurred and definitive boundaries with other fan groups, and the team itself. The overwhelming association of authenticity as a dominant fan ideology demonstrates the social power of fans, and how individuals who do not exhibit those traits can be discounted.

This work demonstrates how user-generated content on Twitter can challenge the top-down flow of discourses and shifts away from the sport organization’s ability to control discourses directly (Bouvier & Machin, 2018; KhosraviNik & Unger, 2016). From a CDA perspective, social media allows for diversity of content created by multiple perspectives, where researchers can explore competing discourses (Bouvier & Machin, 2018). While social media provided conflicting viewpoints, dominant social constructions of sport fandom (i.e., authenticity, loyalty, consumption, unity) were present. Drawing cultural boundaries in this environment exposed sites of resistance that were still embedded in hegemonic discourse systems. This alludes to fans being more than just ‘prosumers’ by reinforcing their role in organizational culture as members of the organization.

This work provided new insight into sport fan cultures by exploring the unprompted discussion of sport fans on Twitter. Using CDA, this study makes a significant conceptual contribution (Tracy, 2010) by extending knowledge. This
contribution occurred through revealing how fans used written text to dictate both acceptable and unacceptable behaviours, self-identified as diehard and part time fans, found unity in misery, and polarized other fans based on their inability to adhere to cultural norms. van Dijk’s (2016) ideological discourse structures demonstrated the way fans called upon dominant fan ideologies to define a central fan culture, while others who may not buy into the dominant ideologies challenged the placement of boundaries. By exploring how ideologies can control the meaning during text production and consumption, more insight is gained into the complex and multidimensional nature of sport fandom.

4.1.7.1 Practical implications.

Sport organizations frequently embed discourses of unity in their marketing campaigns. While this may aid in creating a sense of belongingness and identity with the team, it does not necessarily foster inclusion among fans of the same team. With fans willing to embrace their identity as high or low identified, extremely loyal or a part time fan, sport organizations could use these behaviours and characteristics to encourage fans of all levels to increase consumption. As displayed in the tweets, fans of varying levels continue to consume the sport and should not be ignored.

This study has shown that culture manifests itself in a social media environment through the interactions of fans and the texts they produce. Some teams primarily use Twitter to provide information about the team, promotions, and results, choosing not to engage with individual users. This opportunity to be more present on Twitter could help their ability to co-create team culture with the fans. The Las Vegas Golden Knights of the National Hockey League (NHL) offered an opportunity to their fan base to be
inclusionary or exclusionary. One individual, Luke, who follows the Knights on Twitter but is a Philadelphia Flyers fan, tweeted this in response to an angry post related to his behaviour: “maybe you should ask the Golden Knights to block me on Twitter then.” The team responded: “We love our followers. Not sure why, but Luke's been begging us to block him the past year. What should we do? Block Luke Not Block Luke.” While this tweet could be interpreted as humorous, it also provided fans the power to dictate whether they should be inclusive or exclusive fanbase. It allowed fans to create a sense of unity while being exclusionary, as most followers encouraged the team to block Luke.

Bruns, Weller, and Harrington (2014) suggested that when sport teams or clubs retweet or reply to users, it can be viewed as an attempt to generate interest around the team, as well as “positioning their fans as part of an ‘inner circle’ connecting them to other fans, and encouraging them to attend live matches or otherwise continue to support the club” (p. 271-272). Perhaps it is both the fans and the teams who co-create culture, and future research could explore how these interactions create inclusive or exclusive environments, both online and face-to-face.

4.1.7.2 Limitations and future directions.

There are limitations to be addressed within this study. Only tweets that used the two hashtags (#LetsRise and #BlueJays) were collected. Other tweets discussing fan culture could have used other hashtags, only included handles, or did not include either in their tweets. Therefore, while this work provides insight into the fluctuating and blurred nature of cultural boundaries in sport fandom, it is not a comprehensive view.

Additionally, collecting tweets produced by the organization could provide another
perspective of how cultural boundaries are drawn. Future research can focus on the role of the organization in establishing and drawing boundaries.

Although the purpose of this study was not to quantitatively compare inclusionary and exclusionary tweets, the focus was placed on the latter. Therefore, the texts used for this study were predominantly negative in tone. Also, the number of ‘negative’ tweets could have been due to the performance of the Blue Jays in the 2017 season, especially after two very successful seasons. To gain a better understanding of how much resistance there is to a culture, both inclusive and exclusive discourses could receive equal attention. Tweets could also be collected over multiple seasons to gain a better understanding of how cultural boundaries are drawn during varying team performances. Additionally, tweets could be followed up by contacting users for interview or survey purposes to gain a deeper understanding of their intentions in text production.

As this study only focused on one team, there is opportunity to compare teams within the same league and across sports to understand how culture may be established differently for different teams or sports. This study did not explore threads in which fans are responding to a single tweet, but rather unprompted thoughts about sport fandom that are exposed on Twitter. Future research could take a deeper exploration of the way fans interact on Twitter by focusing on interactions occurring in threads. New studies could also incorporate other types of social media (i.e., Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat) to determine how the specific medium may play a role in reinforcing or undermining cultural boundaries.
4.1.8 References.


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Which motives are most salient to its existence. *International Sports Journal, 6,* 195-207.


4.2 “So begins the demise of #Superman from Metropolis”: Consumers’ Twitter reactions to an athlete’s moral transgression

4.2.1 Introduction.

“For anyone who has ever experienced homophobic violence, what happened tonight is incredibly upsetting and painful. #BlueJays #Pillar”

Toronto Blue Jays’ (Major League Baseball; MLB) center fielder Kevin Pillar is one of the team’s beloved players. Joining the team in 2013, he went back and forth from minor to major league, before having a breakout season in 2015, solidifying his place on the roster. He is often referred to as ‘Superman’ for stretching his body out while diving for catches. Homemade signs with the Superman logo and capes can be seen at Blue Jays home field.

On May 17, 2017, the Blue Jays played an away game in Atlanta against the Braves. In the top of seventh inning, the score was 8-3 for the Braves. Pillar was at bat, with two strikes and two out. Braves pitcher Jason Motte struck out Pillar with a quick pitch. Immediately after, Pillar called Motte a homophobic slur. Motte took offense and both benches cleared before the game resumed with a final score of 8-4 for the Braves. It must also be noted that May 17th is the International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia, and Biphobia (IDAHOTB).

The following day, Pillar issued an apology and the Blue Jays released a statement, both on Twitter. The statement condemned the language but still supported Pillar as “high character individual.” Less than two hours later, the Toronto Blue Jays announced a decision to suspend Pillar two games in an agreement between Pillar, the league, and the Players Association. The league did not take additional disciplinary
action. His wages for these games (a total of over $6,000) went to two LGTBQ related charities, You Can Play Project and PFLAG.

Pillar’s use of language can be considered an athlete transgression, which has been defined as: “sport or non-sport related incidences that are atypical, and bring negative ramifications against stakeholders associated with the athlete” (Agyemang, 2011, p. 138). It is known that athletes are a common point of attachment for sport fans (Robinson & Trail, 2005), which impact viewership and retail spending on teams (Carlson & Donovan, 2013). Athletes are also used as the ‘face’ of sporting organizations on national scales, put on pedestals by sporting entities, and viewed as aspirational (Brown, 2016; Stavros, Westberg, Wilson, & Smith, 2016). As a result, transgressions can have severe negative ramifications for the team, player, sponsors, and a negative effect on brand image, intent to purchase, and team identification (Brown, 2016; Fink, Parker, Brett, & Higgins, 2009; Lohneiss & Hill, 2014; Stavros et al., 2016). Successfully managing a transgression can reduce the negative impact and increase fan support (Brown, 2016). Therefore, it is essential to explore how consumers react to transgressions to gain a better understanding of how they can be successfully managed.

Using Pillar’s transgression as a case, this study provides new insight in two forms. According to Stavros et al. (2016), athlete transgressions can be morally or legally based. The transgression under investigation is rooted in a moral violation of social norms (i.e., discrimination against a marginalized group). The first contribution of this work is exposing how language, rather than engaging in certain behaviours, can result in a transgression. Since meaning given to language is socially constructed, there is a varying degree to which Pillar’s language use may be viewed as a transgression. Some
may argue that the intention of the word was not homophobic, and therefore, no transgression occurred. Other athlete moral transgressions have occurred which consumers\textsuperscript{10} may take a strong stand against, such as Tiger Woods’ extramarital affairs, and Ray Rice’s or Kareem Hunt’s (previous players in the National Football League) acts of domestic violence. Second, this work incorporates critical discourse studies (CDS) as a framework and critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a methodology, which is an underutilized approach to exploring transgressions. Investigating discourses provide an opportunity to explore how language contributes to social reality (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). In turn, we can better understand how these realities about athletes’ behaviours, including homophobia and/or the use of homophobic language, come to be accepted and/or challenged.

4.2.2 Literature review.

4.2.2.1 Transgressions in sport.

Stavros and colleagues (2016) noted that transgressions are categorized based on their nature (i.e., athlete or organization), type (i.e., legal or moral), and context (i.e., occurring on or off the field). Scholars have provided foundational knowledge into image repair and crisis management strategies during and after transgressions. Research has explored multiple aspects of transgressions, such as how athletes manage them (Hambrick, Frederick, & Sanderson, 2015), social media as a mediating source during the incident (e.g., Allison & Pegeraro, 2018; Brown & Billings, 2013; Frederick & Pegeraro, 2018), as well as the effect of transgressions on sponsorship and endorsement (e.g.,

\textsuperscript{10} Twitter users can be viewed as individual consumers (Murthy, 2012). Acknowledging that those engaging in this discussion may not all be fans, the term ‘consumer’ is used.
Wilson, Stavros, & Westberg, 2008). While some work has placed emphasis on consumer reactions to transgressions (e.g., Allison & Pegoraro, 2018; Brown, Brown, & Billings, 2015; Sanderson & Emmons, 2014; Sato, Ko, Park, & Tao, 2015), Stavros and colleagues (2016) suggested research continue to explore stakeholder reactions to gain better insight into how they respond. Examining these reactions can aid in understanding how consumers create inclusive and exclusive sport cultures through the language used in their responses to a moral athlete transgression, as well as how management can craft statements and address transgressions to ease stakeholders’ concerns.

Sato and colleagues (2015) explored spectators’ reactions to an athlete transgression using a performance-enhancing drug scenario. They found that levels of identification of fans and the intent of transgression by the athlete impacted responses. That is, those with high levels of identification tended to react more negatively when the transgression was perceived to be intentional and affected the athlete’s performance. Sanderson and Emmons (2014) focused on an MLB player’s violation of a drug and alcohol policy. Using discussion board posts responding to a thread related to the transgression, they found that fans with higher levels of identification were willing to provide forgiveness, while others who have low levels of identification unrealistically expected that athletes cannot make mistakes. Both of these studies found that level of identification is related to willingness to forgive. Therefore, using rebuilding strategies, such as apologies, can aid in overcoming transgressions. Smith, Stavros, Westberg, Wilson, and Boyle (2014) also used online forum postings to explore how fans reacted to the managing of alcohol related transgressions in the Australian Football League (AFL). They argue that using harm-reduction policies are the best approach to manage the
reputation of players, clubs, and leagues. My study takes a different approach by focusing on how consumers use discourses in their reactions, focusing on how ideologies influence perceptions of transgressions, and how that can contribute to exclusionary culture in sport.

4.2.2.2 Consumer reactions on social media.

In recent years, social media has been used as a source to explore reactions to institutional and athlete transgressions. Social media provides an accessible forum to examine consumer reactions, as this unique virtual space provides sport fans the ability to extend their identities and experiences (Stavros, Meng, Westberg, & Farrelly 2014). Additionally, social media provides consumers with more power to disrupt the top-down practices of communication by becoming producers of discourses (Allison & Pegoraro, 2018; KhosraviNik & Unger, 2016). Allison and Pegoraro (2018) noted that social media “allow researchers to simultaneously examine how social media users assign meaning to athletes [and] how these meanings change with athlete transgressions” (p. 212). This medium also provides fans and consumers a platform to produce discourses surrounding a transgression, as they are able to begin immediately discussing the incident without all the factual information or prior to a statement from the athlete or team is released (Stavros et al., 2016). In this way, fans create and spread competing perspectives concerning the athlete’s behaviour (Sanderson, 2010).

Some studies have explored reactions to institutional transgressions via social media, often focusing on how fans use reputational repair strategies as crisis communicators (Brown & Billings, 2013; Brown et al., 2015; Frederick & Pegoraro, 2018). Other research has studied responses to athlete transgressions on social media,
with a particular focus on reactions via Facebook. Allison and Pegoraro (2018) explored Facebook conversations around US women’s soccer athlete Abby Wambach. Focusing on both her retirement from professional soccer and an arrest for driving under the influence (DUI), users constructed her image as a star player upon retirement, and predominately demonstrated positive support after she issued an apology for the DUI. In this context, Facebook also provided a space in which users who stood on both sides of the transgression (i.e., supportive and non supportive) could converse about the severity of the transgression. Frederick, Stocz, and Pegoraro (2016) explored responses to a fatal incident at a NASCAR dirt race event. Responses to a Facebook post from the transgressor (Kevin Ward Jr.) resulted in users attacking each other (e.g., using insults and questioning intelligence), and bragging about their knowledge of sport to either persuade others to view the transgression from their point of view, or to degrade those with opposing views in front on many onlookers.

These studies have provided the basis for understanding how consumers react to athlete transgressions. However, the focus of these studies is primarily on criminal transgressions. This work seeks to add to this literature by exploring a moral transgression that occurred through the use of a single word. Furthermore, the majority of studies focus on crises management and image repair strategies, whereas in this study I focus on how consumers use discourses to gain a deeper understanding of the reactions. These discourses represent a socially constructed reality and can therefore contribute to or challenge the way homophobia is perceived in sport. By placing emphasis on taken-for-granted notions associated with the ‘inclusive’ nature of sport, the exclusionary characteristics come to light.
As previously mentioned, Twitter has been used when exploring transgressions and crisis management in sport. Brown and Billings (2013) noted that: “Twitter gives highly identified fans a medium to express the connection they feel with their chosen team and allows them to defend their team when a crisis arises” (p. 79). Studies have used Twitter to explore image repair strategies after organizational transgressions (Brown & Billings, 2013; Brown et al., 2015) but it is less commonly used to explore athlete transgressions. It is possible Facebook provides easier access to data, especially if researchers used the comments/responses to a single post. While Twitter and Facebook are both considered social networking sites (SNS), they have different attributes. Facebook facilitates more interaction between users through friend requests, posting pictures, and creating status updates (Davenport, Bergman, Bergman, & Fearrington, 2014). Twitter, on the other hand, is a microblogging SNS which primarily involves one-way communication (although conversations can occur) (Davenport et al., 2014; Zappavigna, 2012). Research has found that sport fans use Twitter and Facebook for different primary and secondary motivations (Haugh & Watkins, 2016). While Facebook was most used for sport purposes, they found that the uses of Twitter revolved around entertainment, gathering information, expressing opinions, and showing support, to name a few (Haugh & Watkins, 2016). Therefore, this study brings new insight by using Twitter to explore unprompted consumer reactions and by bringing in critical discourse studies as a conceptual framework.

4.2.2.3 Homophobia as a transgression.

Homophobia, as Anderson (2002) noted, “presents itself in the form of resistance against the intrusion of a gay subculture within sports and serves as a way of maintaining
the rigidity of orthodox masculinity and patriarchy” (p. 861). Adams, Anderson, and McCormick (2010) discussed how sports became culturally relevant at a time when sexuality and gender expression were assumed to be fixed (i.e., men are masculine, women are feminine). They acknowledged that with a fear of feminine boys becoming gay, sport was used to reinforce masculinity and ensure heterosexuality in male youth. Anderson (2002) found that men engage in homophobia to distance themselves from homosexuality. It is through sports that, “boys and men are thought to employ the processes of hegemonic oppression to construct socially esteemed identities (predicated on being heterosexual and masculine)” (Adams et al., 2010, p. 280).

Multiple studies have investigated homophobia in coaching, in varying sport contexts (i.e., collegiate, high school, professional), and sport media amongst other areas of exploration. A recent international study of almost 9500 participants (of diverse sexualities) explored homophobia and sexuality in sport. They found that only 1% believed LGB (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual) people were completely accepted in sport (Denison & Kitchen, 2015). In fact, many participants believed that homophobia was more prominent in sporting cultures than in the rest of society (Denison & Kitchen, 2015). This could be due to the expectation and association of hegemonic masculinity in sport contexts.

Much of the previous work on homophobia in sport has looked at the impact of people close to athletes (e.g., coaches or teammates). More recently, studies started exploring how consumers and fans play a role in challenging or reinforcing homophobia. Kian, Clavio, Vincent, and Shaw (2011) found that soccer fans posting on messages boards reinforced the existence of homophobia. In contrast, Cashmore and Cleland
(2012) and Cleland (2015) studied soccer fans’ views towards homophobia in the sport and found that while homophobia exists in the sport, the culture is slowly changing to a more inclusive environment. Campbell and colleagues (2011) took a different approach and examined sport fans’ impressions of homosexual athletes by focusing on social identity. They found that fans had a favourable impression of homosexual athletes of their identified team, which the authors attributed to ingroup bias (Campbell et al., 2011). These latter studies provide an optimistic view of a changing, more inclusive culture in sport. This changing culture could be a variable in perceiving a homophobic slur as an athlete’s moral transgression.

4.2.3 Theoretical framework.

4.2.3.1 Critical discourse studies.

Critical discourse studies is a branch of discourse analysis (DA), which focuses on language use in social contexts (van Dijk, 2001b). DA views language as a form of social practice that has implications beyond its typical communicative role (Wood & Kroger, 2000). From this perspective, language is a central and foundational piece of social life (e.g., Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Wood & Kroger, 2000). In fact, Phillips and Hardy (2002) noted that: “the most important contribution of discourse analysis is that it provides a way to unpack the production of social reality” (p. 82).

Fairclough (2012) defined discourse as: “semiotic ways of construing aspects of the world (physical, social or mental) that can generally be identified with different positions or perspectives of different groups of social actors” (p. 11). Discourses are represented in texts, which can be oral or written words, nonverbal interactions, artifacts, and symbols (Fairclough, 2012; Phillips & Hardy, 2002). One of the aims of discourse
analysis is to distinguish the various meanings allotted to texts and how texts can help construct the social world by providing meaning (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). In this study, tweets are used as written texts that represent discourses.

CDS focuses more on the scholar’s attitude and approach to research, using a sociocultural and political lens to explore social justice and equality (van Dijk, 2016). There are numerous approaches to critical discourse studies, however the unifying element is the critical approach required in this perspective (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Any social phenomena can be critically studied, not taken-for-granted, and contested (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Specific to this study, in exploring social inequality, the issues that will be explored involve challenging or maintaining the presence of homophobia in sport through homophobic language, which can be extended to creating an inclusive or exclusive sport environment via social media.

Of the various approaches to CDS, I borrow from van Dijk’s (1998, 2006, 2016) work with ideological discourse structures. van Dijk (1998) acknowledged three components to ideologies. First, they reflect a “system of ideas” (p. 15) and therefore relate to thoughts and beliefs. Second, they are social, often associated with the interests or conflicts of groups, organizations, or institutions. Lastly, ideologies are linked with language use through their expression and reproduction in society. van Dijk (1998) defined ideologies as “the basis of social representations shared by members of group… allow[ing] people, as group members, to organize the multitude of social beliefs about what is the case, good or bad, right or wrong, for them, and to act accordingly” (p. 18). They are often self-serving, providing the ability to have power over other groups (i.e., social dominance).
van Dijk (1998, 2006, 2016) acknowledged that discourses have a role to play in the reproduction of ideologies, in that they allow group members to explicitly and directly express their ideologies. This can be explored through the ideological structures of discourse (van Dijk, 2016). A few of those strategies include: polarization (positive in group representation and negative outgroup representation), pronouns (we/us/our vs. they/their/them), identification (being a member of an ideological group, such as feminists), and norms and values.

These ideological structures have been recognized in previous work focusing on sport celebrity transgressions. Sassenberg (2015) describes how consumers can react to transgressions differently based on the implicit or explicit rules they perceive to be of value. These rules also associated with the consumers’ core value and norms (Sassenberg, 2015). With the nature of this transgression (i.e., a homophobic slur), it is recognized that ideologies will be present in the way different Twitter users demonstrate their position relating to homophobia in sport.

4.2.4 Context.

Central to a CDS framework is contextual situating the data. At the beginning of the 2016 season, the Blue Jays had 1.3 million followers on Twitter, which made them the second most followed team in the MLB (Bogart, 2016). As of April 2017, the Blue Jays had 1.95 million followers. The Blue Jays have encouraged the use of certain hashtags on social media to connect with fans. For the 2017 season, the hashtag chosen was “#LetsRise.”

The location is important to consider when exploring this transgression. Canada was the third country in the world to legalize gay marriage in 2005 (behind Belgium and
the Netherlands) (Pew Research Center, 2017). Furthermore, Toronto has been recognized as one of the most LGTBQ friendly cities globally (“Best LGBT cities 2017”, 2017). Travel blogs have also noted the queer inclusiveness of the city: “more than just queer friendly, in Toronto queer culture mostly feels totally integrated into the fabric of the city” (Camilla, 2013, para. 4). Some tweets from the data directly mention the location as a factor: “Just learning about the Pillar stuff. That sh*t will never be accepted in Toronto. He needs to apologize to #bluejays fans” and “@KPIIIAR4 @BlueJays Remember you represent Toronto and Canada while you play on the @BlueJays we don't support homophobic behaviour.” Therefore, it is possible that some reactions to this type of transgression are also based on social and cultural influence of the geographical location.

4.2.5 Purpose.

The purpose of this study was to explore consumers’ Twitter reactions to Kevin Pillar’s homophobic slur. The objective was to examine the varying discourses consumers used to frame their responses. Emphasis was placed on how these discourses were maintained or challenged in relation to three concepts: Pillar’s brand image in relation to Superman, homophobia in sport, and the assumption of sport as an inclusive environment.

4.2.6 Methodology.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used as the methodology for this study. The purpose of a CDA approach is to identify taken-for-granted discourses at both the institutional and societal level (McGannon, 2017). This approach situates power in institutions and dominant social groups, focusing on how language is tied to social
practice (McGannon, 2017). Therefore, CDA focuses on naturally occurring talk that is used by real language users (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). It also explores the various cultural, social, and situational contexts of language in regards to social problems and issues (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). To investigate these societal discourses, one must examine texts that are widely disseminated (Phillips & Hardy, 2002), hence the use of Twitter.

The challenge with using CDA as a methodology is there is no ‘one’ approach or strict guidelines to follow. Rather, the data collection and analytic process must be rooted in the research goals and questions, methods, and epistemology (McGannon, 2017). Therefore, to address the goals, this research used tweets as naturally occurring language. Puschmann, Burns, Mahrt, Weller, and Burgess (2014) view Twitter as a relevant space to explore discourses, as it exposed a: “world of impossible discourses through the restriction to 140 characters; discourses that could never have come to pass had the creators of the service not chosen to constrain the users’ ability to compose messages in this way” (p. 428). It is the unique 140-character limit\(^\text{11}\) that enhances a CDA approach. Zappavinga (2012) noted that “the brevity encouraged by the medium affords frequent and continuous updating” (p. 27) and acknowledged that tweeting has enough “semiotic pull” (p. 28) for individuals to stop whatever they are doing and post their thoughts. This tweeting behaviour can provide unedited insight into users’ language and discourse use.

4.2.6.1 Data collection.

\(^{11}\) The limit was changed to 280 characters after the Blue Jays 2017 season was over.
Data was collected over the Blue Jays 2017 season (beginning April 3rd and ending on October 2nd) using Visual Twitter Analytics (Vista) software (Hoeber, Hoeber, El Meseery, Odoh, & Gopi, 2016). Using queries, Vista collects live tweets during the season from individuals who are conversing about the players and the team. This software allows for inductive exploration of large datasets. This remedies the need for qualitative researchers to sample a section of tweets a priori to obtain manageable data size, which can result in omitting other important data (Hoeber et al., 2016).

The queries used for this study included #LetsRise (Blue Jays official hashtag for the 2017 season), #BlueJays, and @BlueJays (tweets that tagged the Blue Jays official Twitter account), which resulted in approximately 850,000 tweets. Within these queries, the terms ‘Pillar’, ‘Superman’, and Kevin Pillar’s official Twitter handle ‘@KPILLAR4’ were searched to filter tweets related to the transgression. Tweets were searched from the day Pillar said the slur (May 17th, 2017) to six days later (May 24th, 2017), for a total of one week. The initial result was 2,342 tweets. After removing retweets, tweets that were not related to the transgression, and tweets from the media, there were 699 original tweets from 523 unique users reacting to the transgression. With Vista’s ability to visually represent the data, the timeframe showed a significant drop off in the number of tweets containing relevant terms within a few days of the event. It could be speculated that the transgression was successfully managed by the player and organization, or since MLB teams play 162 games, consumers could move on to focus on the next game. Of note, the

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12 Due to a malfunction in the software, tweets for the last four games of the season were not collected (Sept. 27th, 29th, 30th, and Oct. 1st).
13 This is assuming that users were not tweeting from multiple accounts.
game that occurred the following night (May 18th), a pitcher for the Blue Jays hit his first home run, which could have also drawn attention away from the transgression.

In addition to collecting data via Twitter, I kept a notebook detailing events of all 162 games during the season to use as a reference when interpreting tweets. This information was collected by taking notes when either watching games, watching games highlights, reading game summaries online, or a combination of the three. This proved essential when tweets vaguely alluded to an event that occurred during the game, such as “J-Bau being a jackass is old news...but Pillar being exposed as a jackass is new and disappointing #BlueJays.” In this tweet, the user is referring to Jose Bautista flipping his bat after hitting a homerun when the Blue Jays were down by four runs. I was able to better interpret this tweet by using my notes to understand the context.

4.2.6.2 Data analysis.

Using an inductive approach, the tweets (699) were read and re-read three times in a two-month period to determine the patterns of responses. To initially comprehend the composition of the tweets, focus was placed on the subject of the reaction (i.e., Pillar, suspension, or other Twitter users) as well as discourses that were being drawn upon in the tweets, following the strategy as discussed by McGannon (2017): “one seeks to identify what the discursive objects are within a particular text, and what meanings are being ‘worked up’ in and through the text” (p. 237).

Fairclough’s (1995a) three-dimensional analysis was used on all the 699 tweets. The first dimension is text analysis, which focuses on both the meaning and form of texts. It considers lexical choices, in addition to ideologies, identities, and relationships found in the texts. Discourse practice is the second dimension, which focuses on how texts are
produced and consumed. Lastly, sociocultural practices focus on the more abstract elements of the event, such as the situational context, the wider institutional context, and the even broader societal and cultural contexts. To illustrate the analytical process, I will use the tweet “You are a class act @KPIllAR4 who just got caught up in the heat of battle no harm done” from the data. In the text analysis, I pulled on specific texts such as ‘you’, in that the user is speaking directly to Pillar, ‘caught up’ and ‘heat of battle’ to suggest the slur was out of his control, and ‘no harm done’ to lessen the significance or impact of the transgression. The second dimension recognizes that the text is coming from a Blue Jays fan who may be using these texts to protect their self-esteem as a fan of both the team and player. It also represents their ideology, which supports the use of homophobic slurs as insults in sport contexts. The sociocultural practices place the tweet in dominant sport fan ideologies which suggest loyalty is essential. It also reiterates the dominance of hegemonic masculinity, which is embedded in many sports. In addition to this analytical approach, van Dijk’s ideological structures of discourse (i.e., polarization, pronouns, and positive self-description and negative other description) were used during analysis. This process will be further demonstrated in the findings section.

After analysis was complete, I selected the discourses by drawing from Pillar’s brand image associated with Superman. The data were categorized as discourses relating to the Superman franchise: discourses of Superman, discourses of justice (league), and discourses of villains. These discourses were challenged or reinforced by consumers in their reactions to the transgression. Importantly, Murthy (2012) noted that readers of a tweet may interpret it differently based on their participation in the topic. Therefore, I first discuss my position as it relates to the interpretation of the data.
4.2.6.3 Researcher position.

I contribute to and challenge the discourses I am working with, as I am a highly identified sport fan. I understand how fans may seek to protect their self-esteem when a transgression occurs. As someone who has worked for a queer advocacy organization in the past, I also value equality, tolerance, and inclusiveness. My experiences as a fan and advocate for queer issues are present in my interpretation of the data. In order to add sincerity (Tracy, 2010) to this research, I used a reflective journal to recognize the ways in which my use of text and language relates to the discourses I am exploring:

*I am realizing how my own use of language contributes to discourses. I tend to use the word ‘punish’ or ‘punishment’ when referring to the results of Pillar’s actions. ‘Punished’ has a negative connotation, alluding to the fact that something bad occurred. To me, other terms such as discipline or consequences still represent something bad but with less negative emotion, or that what happened wasn’t severe. I believe this behaviour to be a negative act, and therefore, I opt to use the term ‘punish’. I am wondering about the way I am playing a role in framing the discourses through my lexical choices during analysis.*

In recognizing my positionality and how it relates to my interpretation of the analysis, I also am aware that discourses are socially constructed. There are various meanings and understandings associated and I treated the discourses as such (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). Therefore, I did not seek data that represented my train of thought, but explored patterns to understand the various ways discourses were used to represent reality (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002).
4.2.7 Findings and interpretation.

Sassenberg (2015) noted “when celebrities transgress, the meanings associated with their brand image may also change” (p. 78), therefore the findings are represented as discourses that are associated with the Superman universe. First, discourses of Superman included tweets that both reinforced and challenged Pillar’s actions as being associated with Superman’s image. Second, discourses of justice (league) represent the way consumers reacted to the suspension of Pillar. They pulled discourses from the judicial system, discussing if the punishment fit the crime. Third, discourses of villains were found when consumers would negatively react to others who had opposing views towards the transgression. Of note, the exact tweets are shown, and therefore all grammatical and spelling errors are left unrevised.

4.2.7.1 Discourses of Superman.

Superman is recognized as having qualities of being noble, good, and perfect to the extreme, which is not to be scorned but something to aspire to (White, 2013). Bevin (2019) also noted that “not only does he stand for truth, justice, and the American way, he is, more broadly, believed to show us what it means to be ‘good’” (p. 3). In these descriptions, Superman is assumed to be flawless.

4.2.7.1.1 Reinforcing Superman qualities.

Some consumers drew from ideologies of athletes as role models to reinforce Pillar’s association with Superman: a public figure who is flawless. “Pretty disappointed with @KPILLAR4 at last nights #BlueJays game. You're Super Man to the kids in Canada, don't encourage words of hate.” In this tweet, the user directly addressed Pillar by tagging his official Twitter account. They also reiterate Pillar’s image as associated
with Superman, recognizing that he is an idol for children, drawing a comparison in that Superman does not engage in hateful language. This idolization of athletes by children gives the perception that they exhibit desirable role model behaviour, whether the athlete wishes to take on that role or not (Stavros et al., 2016). The lexical choice of ‘words of hate’ represents this user’s ideological views that challenge homophobia in sport. They are framing the transgression as an act of hate speech towards a marginalized group. This reaction denotes a shift in culture, in which the ideology of the future and, one that children will possess, is that homophobia has no place in sport.

Another part of reinforcing Pillar’s behaviours with those of Superman relate to the high expectations of consumers. This was a reoccurring pattern in tweets:

“#BlueJays @KPI11AR4 keep your cool man. You're better than that” and “Disappointment to wake up to one of your favourite players using homophobic insults. Pillar I thought you were better than that #BlueJays.” Both tweets also use ‘better than that’ to demonstrate that Pillar has not met their high expectations. Due to athletes’ privileged positions, there can be implicit behavioral standards (e.g., sportsmanship, respecting integrity of sport, displaying moral character) that consumers believe exist at all times (Stavros et al., 2016). This is explicitly obvious in this tweet: “@BlueJays @KPI11AR4 he shouldn't be judged the same as you and I. He's a MLB player with that comes a higher standard.” Of note, hashtags are often used to mark a tweet as being relevant to a particular topic (Bruns & Moe, 2014), there is potential that the use of #BlueJays in the first two tweets also brings the organization into the conversation, wondering how much of the blame they are placing onto the team. While an individual athlete committed the transgression, some responsibility can be attributed to the
organization (Fortunato, 2008).

Other consumers commented that due to the transgression, Pillar compromised his brand image as it is no longer linked to the positive meanings associated with Superman: “Hey @BlueJays please revoke Kevin Pillar's Superman nickname. Superman is for everyone” and “Hey @KPIllAR4, as a @BlueJays fan and gay man, I'm disappointed by your slur and your weak apology. Superman doesn't call people faggots.” Using ideological strategies, consumers are associating Superman with a positive representation, and Pillar as the opposite, through negative representations. In this way, Pillar becomes the opposite of Superman, portrayed as someone who is evil. These negative reactions to Pillar’s transgression demonstrate intolerance for homophobic language in sport contexts. One user connected these reactions, in which consumers turn their backs on a heroic public figure, to a common storyline in Superman franchise: “So begins the demise of #Superman from Metropolis.”

4.2.7.1.2 Challenging Superman qualities.

Some consumers challenged discourses of Superman when discussing Pillar, by using the notion of ‘heat of the moment’ as an explanation. Many consumers used this mentality to justify the transgression and potentially to protect their self-esteem as fans of Pillar: “All good KP @KPIllAR4 heat of the moment, we've all been there. Just keep doing what you do! #LetsRISE #SUPERMAN.” In this context, Pillar could still be associated with Superman’s alter ego, Clark Kent, recognizing that even superheroes possess human qualities. Furthermore, ‘heat of the moment’ can relate to the emotionality of the game, and life in general, to explain undesirable behaviours. In this case, being competitive and using homophobic language was an outcome of what transpired on the
field. Of note, other consumers challenged the use of competition or ‘heat of the moment’ as an excuse for this transgression: “To anyone excusing @KPILLAR4’s homophobic slur as 'heat of the moment,' imagine if he'd hurled a racial slur. Is it still okay? @BlueJays.” This exposes an interesting debate as to how this transgression would have been perceived had it been off-the-field or if it involved other forms of disrespectful language such as a racist or misogynistic comment.

Consumers used pronouns, such as ‘we’, to justify or downplay the transgression. Typically, when referring to Superman, one would not associate him with the average person, as he represents what is inspirational but not necessarily achievable (White, 2013). However, in this situation, ‘we’ was used to humanize Pillar: “We are human. We make mistakes. We overcome them together @BlueJays @KPILLAR4 #LetsRISE.” It has been noted that some individuals have empathy for athletes during a transgression, recognizing that the expectations and pressure is too much for athletes to constantly handle (Stavros et al., 2016). Another tweet continued the positive support: “I'll always support @KPILLAR4 Keep your head up buddy us #BlueJays fans are all behind ya everyone makes mistakes we're not perfect.” Here, there is positive self-description, in stating their status as a fan who will continue to demonstrate support. This pulls on sport fan ideologies, which frequently situate loyalty as central (Gray & Wert-Gray, 2012). Additionally, this consumer uses the power provided through Twitter to speak on behalf of all Blue Jays fans (‘us #BlueJays fans are all behind ya’). This tweet not only accepts the use of homophobic language in sports, but also provides a false sense of unity amongst Blue Jays fans that this type of language is acceptable. Again, the use of ‘we’ is called upon again to dissociate Pillar from the perfectionism of Superman (White, 2013).
Both of these tweets also use the term ‘mistake’ to refer to the transgression, alluding to the idea that it was unintentional and perhaps, out of character. Furthermore, mistakes can be viewed as poor judgment calls. It is this judgment that White (2013) deems part of the ability for fans to relate to superheroes: “all the superpowers in the world don’t matter and it all comes down to judgments, the ability to make tough choices in a difficult situation. The need for judgment is what brings all superheroes down to Earth” (p. 5). Sanderson (2010) found similar reactions to Tiger Woods’ extramarital affairs on Facebook, where fans spoke of ‘mistakes’, and protected Woods by claiming others were unable to judge him based on their own transgressions.

Overall, these justifications demonstrate in the socio-cultural context that homophobic language is a non-issue for some people in sport settings. Consumers found ways to justify the transgression, thus lessening the severity of Pillar’s action. However, some consumers challenged the use of homophobic language, suggesting that a change of culture is occurring. Similar to other work regarding transgressions, this section recognizes “polarization [occurs] between perceptions of players as ‘ordinary’ young men prone to commonplace mistakes and as role models with an obligation to take on higher levels of accountability” (Smith et al., 2014, p. 406). It is important to contextually situate this transgression, as it occurred by a male athlete in a male sport league.

4.2.7.2 Discourses of justice (league).

Superman belongs to the Justice League, which is a group of superheroes whose goal is to come together to fight crime and defeat enemies (that could not be defeated by one of them alone). What unites this group of superheroes is the commonality of a belief in justice. Consumers were both united and divided, in their call to justice as they reacted
to the suspension of Pillar for two games. Calling upon discourses of justice, there was three common ways they spoke of the punishment: just, unjust (too severe), and unjust (not severe enough).

The dominant response was that the punishment fits the crime; the two game suspension was appropriate for the transgression: “@BlueJays Blue Jays just suspended Pillar for two games. I think that's fair.” Some consumers viewed the suspension as the organization taking a stand against the use of homophobic language in baseball: “@BlueJays suspend Pillar for two games. I agree completely. No place for that behavior in baseball.” This user demonstrates that their ideologies are in line with the organization (i.e., challenging homophobia in sport) through agreeing with the punishment and reinforcing that homophobic language is not acceptable. Even those who continued to demonstrate positive support and identification with Pillar agreed with the managing of the transgression: “Breaks my heart because I love @KPIIAR4 and respect how he's handled this, but it's the right thing for @BlueJays to do.” In this case, the individual is stating their status as a Pillar fan, demonstrating positive association through language such as ‘respect’ and ‘love’. Yet, the user still reinforces that homophobic language is unacceptable and is punishable by suggesting ‘it’s the right thing’ to do.

Others viewed the disciplinary action as unjust, in that it was not severe enough. Some tweets demonstrated the contradictory nature of using this type of language in, what is technically for the athlete, a workplace setting: “@BlueJays Kevin Pillar should be FIRED. HATE in any workplace cannot be tolerated” and “#BlueJays TWO GAMES!!! If I say that I get fired!!! Kevin Pillar butt-head day soon!! #ridiculous.” Both tweets not only suggest that the use of a homophobic slur warrants a more severe
punishment, but sheds light on how in a hypermasculine context such as sport, this type of transgression may be taken more lightly. Adams and colleagues (2010) recognized this in their study, as they concluded: “homophobia is not just homophobia… [it is] inextricably tied with issues of gender, sexuality, courage, and sport” (p. 293). Anderson (2002) also explained that since sport promotes heterosexuality, homosexuality (and gay men in particular) defy its cultural structures. Therefore, a homophobic slur in a sport context can be perceived as within the cultural boundaries of sport. In contrast, there are cases where people, outside of the sport world, have been fired from their jobs for homophobic remarks. This brings into question the way that athletes are held to a higher standard but not held to the same consequences as other professionals for the same behaviour.

Other reactions continued to support the ideology that homophobia does not belong in sport by suggesting more action could have been taken: “Seems fairly light for the Jays to set a precedence by only handing Pillar a two game suspension. #BlueJays” and “2 games is a joke of a suspension for #Pillar. That's not a slap on the wrist, that's a kiss #BlueJays #MLB.” These tweets pull on discourses of justice by suggesting that the crime did not fit the punishment, and the disciplinary action could have been more severe. Using terms such as ‘precedent’, which are typically found in legal settings, suggests that the organization had an opportunity to take a significant, culturally changing stance, but did not. Some people pulled on ideological structure by calling out the organization: “@BlueJays suspending Pillar 2 games shows you dont care about the issue and you support Homophobic outbursts.” In this case, the use of pronouns (‘you’) and negative representations are portrayed towards the team. Even though the
organization did make a statement condemning the language used and suspended Pillar for two games, when some consumers believed the punishment was unjust, the team became associated with supporting homophobic language.

Lastly, some consumers felt that the punishment was unjust as it was too severe for Pillar’s behaviour. Often, these tweets engaged in polarizing behaviour of the organization, attributing the ‘extreme’ outcome of the transgression to their poor management: “@BlueJays way to show the baseball community and @KPI LLAR4 how small your balls are”, “So the @BlueJays suspended @KPI LLAR4 two games for calling an opposing player a ‘fag’...#ridiculous” and “@BlueJays what a joke Jays, suspend Pillar 2 games for what he said. Not his fault Motte is a faggot.” The first tweet demonstrates ideologies of masculinity in sport, by suspending Pillar for two games, the Blue Jays are caving to political correctness, and not representing the masculine ‘nature’ of sport. Those who viewed the punishment as not severe enough tended to describe the transgression as an act of hate and homophobic. In the second and third tweet, consumers do not shy away from using terms that could be associated with homophobic language (i.e., ‘fag’ and ‘faggot’), demonstrating the normalization of such terms within sport, sport fandom, or their own personal circles (e.g., at work or with friends). One individual displayed support for Pillar by explaining his use of language: “@KPI LLAR4 @BlueJays I'd b lost without 'faggot' in my repertoire or lexicon and again, I use it with ZERO homosexual connotation. Semantic word change.” This user is attempting to influence the interpretation of their language use, suggesting that the word can have multiple meanings associated with it no longer makes it homophobic. van Dijk (2016)
would argue that an individual’s ideologies (which are also connected to a broader social group) are used to interpret the meaning associated with discourse.

The various ways in which consumers reacted to the two-game suspension relates to the ideological groups they associate with. One group advocated for change and viewed using homophobic language in sport as problematic, while another group claimed people were too concerned about political correctness. These reactions were based on discourses of justice, whether it was served or if injustice occurred. Similar to the Justice League, people of varying backgrounds have come together on Twitter in an effort to discuss if justice was achieved. The fact that consumers stated their opinions in regards to the suspension supports Stavros and colleagues’ (2016) work that noted consumers “often evaluate the transgressive act itself as well as the subsequent management of the incident by the team and governing sporting body” (p. 350). Exploring these reactions would be beneficial to sport organizations, as addressing the transgression immediately and appropriately can lessen the negative ramifications to the athlete, organization, and consumers. However, moral transgressions, such as this, may pose new challenges when opposing viewpoints are evident in reactions.

4.2.7.3 Discourses of villains.

While the prominent villain in the Superman world is Lex Luther, in this study consumers treated others who did not respond similar to them as the villain. Lex viewed Superman as the opposition, as he argued that Superman, “taught humanity not to fight for themselves” (Jensen, 2013, p. 153). Therefore, Lex believes that Superman is actually damaging and not helpful; with the idea that Superman threatens self-reliance (Jensen, 2013). In the way that both Superman and Lex Luther viewed each other as the villain,
the different ideological groups had various views on homophobic language in sport, and therefore, people took multiple stances towards the transgression. These groups used ideological structures in their tweets to distinguish themselves from the villain (i.e., those who disagreed with their ideological viewpoint).

The first way others were vilified was through suggesting that those who are offended by the transgression are being ‘too sensitive.’ Of note, Fairclough (2003) suggested that political correctness (PC) is partly a controversy of language, and in order to change culture, language must also be changed. This controversy of language is based on the construction of identity and difference through lexical choices. These differences can result in the policing or resisting of policing language, or as Fairclough (2003) noted “linguistic vanguardism” (p.26). Furthermore, those who are labeled as PC and those doing the labeling are both engaging in cultural politics, through representing their identity and values (Fairclough, 2003). Similar to previous sections, consumers are pulling on concepts of emotions to downplay the transgression: “Pillar is frustrated, says something stupid, apologizes, so he’s getting crucified. We are getting so thin skinned. It's unreal. #Bluejays” and “Too much is being made of the slur that Pillar made in the heat of a game. Stop being so sensitive #bluejays #pillar #outofproportion.” In the first tweet, the user is critiquing others for being offended by the language used. They are suggesting that Pillar’s behaviour is excusable due to emotion and providing an apology. In the second tweet, there are commands given (‘stop being so sensitive’) which demonstrates the social dominance being enacted by those who share ideologies that homophobic language in sport is non-problematic. While Fairclough (2003) would argue that both
sides are engaging in cultural politics, those who discount PC are using it as a damaging strategy for progressive social change.

Another user also vilified those who are offended: “@KPILLAR4 @BlueJays Very pathetic that people make a big deal about it. In the heat of the moment anything can be said. He didn’t say it to you so what’s your deal.” By using insults (‘very pathetic’), they are polarizing between those who were bothered and those who were not, demonstrating outgroup degradation. Additionally, it is suggested that only those who are the victim of insults should be offended, instead of those who are seeking removal of such language to create inclusivity. One consumer responded by suggesting that those who are offended should watch a different sport: “If you have a problem with what Pillar said then go watch Figure Skating. What a joke. Non story. Happens way more than you think. #BlueJays.” The comparison between baseball and figure skating suggests there are varying norms based on the sport. Anderson (2002) noted: “the type of sport influences how masculinity gets constructed… graceful or individual sports do not reproduce hegemonic masculinity in the same way that football or hockey does” (p. 864). While baseball is non-contact, this user is suggesting that it is still a space that endorses hegemonic masculinity, and this type of language is normal and accepted. Furthermore, research has shown that athletes whose transgression devalues sport (i.e., performance enhancing drugs or cheating) are viewed as disrupting the integrity of competitive sports (Stavros et al., 2016). In the last tweet, this user could be suggesting that homophobic language is integral to baseball and removing it would damage the sport, and therefore this language use is potentially fundamental to male dominated sports. The tweet is also giving a command to not only let the transgression go, but to no longer consume the sport
if they are offended by it. This is another example of using out-group degradation that can result in creating an exclusionary and unwelcoming environment for sport consumers.

Vilifying also occurred by suggesting the double standards people were imposing on their critique of the transgression. Many consumers called out other users implying that they have also made mistakes: “I love how all the people still ripping kevin pillar act like they themselves have never ever said anything bad in their lives. #BlueJays” and “@BlueJays @KPI3LLR4 People acting like they've never said a slur before. In heat of battle and anger. Things are said. I'm sure he isn't a homophobe.” This user is not only making assumption about who Pillar is as a person, but also demonstrating how their ideology impacted the interpretation of the text. They are disassociating power and language by explaining how someone can use a homophobic slur as an insult but not be a homophobe. These tweets demonstrate ideological structures of discourse by using negative outgroup degradation to expose other individuals as having unrealistic expectations of Pillar. By accusing them of being two-faced, they are downplaying the problematic nature of using homophobic slurs in sport (and societal) contexts. The attacking of other users was also present in Frederick and colleagues’ (2016) study of Kevin Ward Jr.’s transgression. They found that Facebook users enjoyed the opportunity to direct and place blame, and thereby were: “acting as a digital judge and jury in the court of public opinion” (p. 1471).

Twitter creates an environment that allows individuals to use their voice publicly. It is a virtual space in which social domination can be reproduced and challenged. Power was present in some tweets in an attempt to define the interpretation of language and the
production of meaning of certain texts: “Saying fag or queer doesn't make you a homophobe, so stop saying it's a homophobic remark. #Pillar.” Not only is this user engaging in outgroup degradation (i.e., those who believe the transgression was a homophobic act), but also using the power of meaning-making to come off as though the information provided in the tweet is factual. In this case, social media is a tool that is used to reiterate certain ideologies, where power is enacted through defining meaning for others.

Rarely were people critiqued for not being sensitive enough. This could be due to the fact that the negative impacts were acknowledged by Pillar making an apology, the team making a statement condemning the behaviour, and a suspension was given. However, some users questioned those who shrugged off the transgression: “To anyone excusing @KPIllAR4’s homophobic slur as 'heat of the moment,' imagine if he'd hurled a racial slur. Is it still okay? @BlueJays.” This consumer is using a comparison to demonstrate how homophobic culture is engrained in sport, alluding to the idea that a racist remark would be unacceptable, yet using a homophobic slur is interpreted as being competitive. Another user commented: “To those defending what Pillar said as 'free speech', I ask you. Why is it so important for you to be able to say words like that? #bluejays.” This tweet challenges the use of homophobic language as being congruent with free speech. The user questions lexical choices that can have harmful and negative impacts.

4.2.8 Conclusion.

This study drew from Kevin Pillar’s association with Superman to expose how consumers reacted to a moral transgression. With the nature of this transgression (i.e.,
homophobic slur), the plurality of the discourses expose multiple ways in which homophobia continues to exist in sport contexts. Even though the Blue Jays released a statement that condemned Pillar’s behaviour for being exclusionary, many fans not only accepted the slur but also downplayed its impact. This could suggest that while the organization sets a standard for inclusivity, not all fans will follow their lead. McGannon (2017) noted that: “Discourses – be they social or cultural – offer competing and contradictory ways of giving meaning to the world and how we view ourselves” (p. 232). The findings demonstrated that discourses used by consumers were challenged and reinforced in manner that supported and questioned the inclusive nature of sport fandom.

As mentioned, discourses can contain ideologies. This is evident in the ways that consumers reinforced or challenged discourses, using their ideological viewpoints to justify their reactions. Often, this related to the association of athletes as role models, assuming that the job of professional athlete is engrained with meeting high behavioural expectations, similar to other work in this area (Sanderson & Emmons, 2014; Stavros et al., 2016). However, those who challenged could have ideologies which view hegemonic masculinity as essential to sport, and therefore homophobic language becomes part of the fabric of male dominated sports. These ideologies, represented in the language used in the tweets, demonstrates how reactions to social transgressions can be contradictory and complex.

Twitter plays a significant role in understanding consumer reactions. The use of Vista software allowed for an organic exploration of discourses related to the transgression. Additionally, it provided an unfiltered insight into the modern understanding of homophobic language in sport, which demonstrates a culture that
appears to be changing with those who are resisting homophobia. From a management perspective, these reactions can have significant effects as the use of hashtags allow the message to go beyond the user’s immediate followers (Bruns & Moe, 2014). There is potential that reactions that were incongruent with the team’s stance can influence others’ reactions. In this case, the consumers were creating an exclusionary environment while the team attempted to foster inclusion, exposing a darker side to fandom. Twitter then becomes a space where consumers are producing discourses, taking the power of framing the transgression away from the team. Perhaps if the Blue Jays became more active and involved in the queer community following the transgression, they would have been actions to change the homophobic and exclusionary culture. There could also be the question of how much onus do sport organizations need to take and what role do they have in fixing athlete transgressions.

This study reinforces the comments of Puschmann and colleague (2014) regarding the power of Twitter: “Studying society with Twitter can highlight different aspects of contemporary life … it is the aggregate and productively contradictory picture which emerges from a combination of these observations which is ultimately of the greatest value” (p. 427). With Twitter being a source of self-representation, part of identity maintenance, and being rooted in self-production (Murthy, 2012), it is possible to understand how different users will call upon discourses and ideologies to represent their position. For example, some consumers interpreted the language used as a homophobic slur and associated Pillar with being a homophobe based on their ideologies, while others viewed it as a lexical choice that was not representative of Pillar’s attitude towards the queer community. The multiple views demonstrate that there are challenges in addressing
this kind of language in sport. That is, not everyone views it as a problem and the organization is forced into taking a political/culture stance by addressing, or not, the language used. This work draws attention to the importance of exploring how language contributes to a socially constructed reality, which can expose taken-for-granted assumptions in sport contexts. Interestingly, researchers at the University of Alberta established a website titled No Homophobes Dot Com which tracks homophobic language on Twitter and since 2012, the word ‘faggot’ has been used close to 38,000,000 times. Further, their website states “homophobic language isn’t always meant to be hurtful, but how often do we use it without thinking?” This directly relates to multiple ways in which language can be used and how ideologies impact the interpretation.

Overall, consumers viewed the transgression from multiple perspectives. Through exploring the responses, it seems the disciplinary action appeared to ease most consumers. Through the statement and suspension, the organization made a stance against homophobic language and perhaps homophobia in sport. However, that is where the management ended. About two months later, Pillar met with You Can Play Project (an organization dedicated to promoting gender inclusive environment in sports), who tweeted about their meeting. There were also numerous popular media articles (cf. Davidi, 2018; Oz, 2017; Rosenthal, 2018) that discuss how Pillar has continued to be an advocate for the queer community since committing the transgression. Pillar also took part in sensitivity training under the guidance of PFLAG. Yet, these actions have not been publicized by the team or player. While this could be due to avoiding unwanted negative attention, there was an opportunity for the team and Pillar to put actions behind their worded apology, to reinforce the inclusivity of the team, and efforts towards
reconciliation. The question then becomes if a transgression is successfully addressed and forgotten, does the organization get to opt out of continuing to manage the transgression even though their stance (i.e., inclusive club) was not enforced? There was an opportunity for the organization, along with Pillar, to be advocates for social change in a way that was congruent with their value of inclusivity. Meaning, the managing of transgression should not end at the written statement. On the other hand, if an apology is all that is needed to evade negative ramifications, is an inclusive culture of sport really forthcoming?

**4.2.8.2 Limitations and future directions.**

Twitter provided a useful tool for observing reactions to an athlete transgression. However, there are inherent limitations in using this approach. While Twitter provides a source of ‘naturally occurring’ talk, it could be argued whether this medium provides a more truthful portrayal of individuals, or if it is a space to observe the Hawthorne effect (Murthy, 2012). It could be a case where individuals responded in socially desirable ways, or that individuals posted comments with the purpose of instigating or playing devil’s advocate (i.e., trolling). Furthermore, with the restriction of 140 characters, the medium “ultimately tends towards the privileging of verbatim tweets rather than ensuring the preservation of intended meaning (i.e., what the original speakers ‘want to get across’)” (Murthy, 2012, p. 107). Therefore, the interpreted intention of tweets may not be the actual intention of the author. Future work could begin exploring tweets and ask users to participate in follow up surveys or interviews to discuss their intents and meaning behind their language use. Additionally, only tweets relating to the transgression that contained #LetsRise, #BlueJays, and tagged the official Blue Jays Twitter account @BlueJays were collected. Therefore, any reactions to the transgression that occurred on
Twitter that didn’t use the hashtag or handle were not part of the study. Future studies could collect reactions from multiple social media platforms (i.e., Facebook, Twitter, Instagram) to explore if the medium has any effect on the reactions based on the demographics and capabilities. Additionally, Watanabe, Yan, and Soebbing (2015) noted that the amount of Twitter followers of an MLB team may vary based on the team’s performance, important dates (e.g., opening day), or winning and losing streaks. Future work could explore how an athlete’s transgression has potential to affect the numbers of followers and interactions on Twitter.

Future studies could also seek to focus on reactions to moral athlete transgressions. This research provides insight into the potentially changing culture in sport and sport fandom. Exploring these types of transgressions in different sport contexts, such as women sports, youth sports, contact versus non-contact sports, could continue to provide new knowledge to athlete transgressions. This study focused on reactions on Twitter but not necessarily about ‘who’ was reacting. Therefore, explaining how the varying reactions are associated to various levels of fan identification is unfeasible. Future studies could also explore how fans at various levels of identification, or with different demographics such as openly queer, men, women, older adults compared to younger adults, react to these types of transgressions.

Lastly, the importance of studying topics such as this is not only to better understand how consumers react to transgressions, but how these reactions can create inclusivity or exclusivity in sport settings. This perspective can aid in determining how to create positive culture changes, as one user noted: “We need to get to the point where a
person's first choice for an insult isn't homophobic, sexist or racist. @BlueJays #pillar
#Toronto.”

4.2.10 References.

doi:10.1177/0261927X10368833


doi:10.1177/08912430237892


Cashmore, E., & Cleland, J. (2012). Fans, homophobia and masculinities in association


Routledge.


4.3 Implementing Critical Discourse Analysis as Theory and Methodology in Sport Management Studies

4.3.1 Introduction.

In recent years, there has been a call for more diverse methodological approaches in studying sport management (Hoeber & Shaw, 2017; Shaw & Hoeber, 2016; Singer, Shaw, Hoeber, Walker, Agyemang, & Rich, 2019). The interest to push qualitative research into new boundaries is evident by the continued presence of methodological panels and presentations at various sport management conferences (i.e., SMAANZ, NASSM, EASM) and special issues in journals, such as Sport Management Review, focusing on contemporary qualitative research methods. In an effort to contribute to current knowledge of qualitative methodologies and methods in sport management, this article discusses critical discourse analysis (CDA) and its application in this field.

There are a small number of specific methodologies, such as case studies, that are heavily relied upon (Hoeber & Shaw, 2017). Calling upon underutilized approaches to frame and analyze qualitative work expands the boundaries of knowledge. Even though critical discourse analysis is still relatively new (around 30 years), it has been receiving attention as chapters in qualitative research books (e.g., Edwards & Skinner, 2009; McGannon, 2017; Mills & Birks, 2014; Wodak, 2004). While CDA has received some attention in sport-based research, few articles using this approach have been published in sport management journals. Typically, CDA studies are found within sociology of sport journals (e.g., Bimper & Harrison, 2017; Müller, van Zoonen, & de Roode, 2008; van Sterkenburg & Knoppers, 2004), sport communication journals (e.g., Brayton, Helstein, Ramsey, & Rickards, 2019; Lavelle, 2010; Meân & Kassing, 2007), gender-based
journals (e.g., Knoppers & Anthonissen, 2008), discourse-based journals (e.g., McDowell & Schaffner, 2011; Sznycer, 2010), qualitative-based journals (e.g., McGannon & Spence, 2012), and cultural study journals (e.g., Simon-Maeda, 2013). Very few studies using CDA appear in sport management journals, including Journal of Sport Management, Sport Management Review, and European Sport Management Quarterly (with the exception of Amara & Henry, 2010; Chen & Mason, 2018; Hu & Henry, 2017; Wagner & Møller Pedersen, 2014).

Knoppers (2015) noted the lack of discourse studies in sport management: “little is known about how discourses about sport and organizations inform the ways sport management is practiced and is defined” (p. 498). Yet, sport management is informed by race, gender, sexuality, social class, ability, and management discourses, such as those connected with leadership, organizational culture, consumer behaviour, and so forth. These are evident in marketing campaigns, policies, job descriptions, programming, and advertisements. For example, there are discourses of gender that influence media commentary about athlete uniforms. Nike’s recent 30th anniversary campaign with Colin Kaepernick includes discourses of social justice, race, gender, ability, and classism. Discourses of leadership can be embedded with concepts of hierarchy, sacrifice (e.g., work-life balance), and strength. Sport organizations produce and react to texts (e.g., written and verbal words, images, videos) that contribute to or challenge dominant discourses. CDA recognizes that: “organizations and other social phenomena can be seen to depend on the discursive construction of complex sets of concepts and the application

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14 This list is restricted to the use of CDA and does not include articles that study discourses from critical perspectives.
of these concepts by members to make sense of their experience” (Phillips, Sewell, & Jaynes, 2008, p. 773). With the surge of social media, it becomes clear that various stakeholders, including sport organizations, athletes, coaches, fans, and media, not only consume discourses but become producers as well (KhosraviNik & Unger, 2016).

Not only does critical discourse analysis provide new methodological insight, it also is a complimentary methodology for critically reflexive research. Frisby (2005) acknowledged that questioning practices and structures related to sport management can contribute to our understanding of the negative or critical aspects of sport. With CDA already establishing its’ value in the management field (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2010; Leitch & Palmer, 2010; Phillips et al., 2008), using this methodology in conjunction with other theoretical frameworks will aid in pushing the boundaries of sport management.

The purpose of this article is to introduce and shed light on how CDA can be applied in sport management contexts. First, I start with a discussion of discourse analysis, followed by explaining CDA and its’ characteristics. Next, common theoretical approaches to CDA will be summarized. I will then discuss the applicability of CDA to sport management including previous studies and future directions. Finally, limitations will be addressed.

4.3.2 An introduction to discourse analysis.

Discourse analysis is “the study of the meaning we give language and the actions we carry out when we use language in specific contexts” (Gee & Handford, 2012, p. 1). Discourse analysis (DA) can be considered a sub-discipline of linguistics, though its origins are also found in various fields including philosophy, literary theory, and sociology (Wood & Kroger, 2000), recognizing its contribution to social science research
(Gee & Handford, 2012). Essentially, DA views language as social practice that goes beyond its solely communicative role (Wood & Kroger, 2000). Discourse analysis uses a social constructivist epistemology that brings a particular way of viewing language in social production (Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). As a product of this epistemology, discourse analysis does not merely involve the study of language but also how language contributes to social reality (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). This approach conceptualizes language as a central and foundational piece of social life (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002; Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Wood & Kroger, 2000). It has been noted that the most important role of DA is: “that it provides a way to unpack the production of social reality” (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 82). As an example, DA has been used to uncover the taken-for-granted aspects of using slang, which requires shared knowledge and context (e.g., Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002; Tenorio, 2011; van Dijk, 2001a). The focus on the taken-for-granted is particularly relevant to sporting contexts, as using slang associates oneself with the culture (e.g., ‘alley-oop’ in basketball, ‘dinger’ in baseball, ‘dolly’ in cricket), which is important for athletes and fans to create a connection and identity.

Discourse analysis assumes that the phenomena of interest in both psychological and social research are created in and through discourses (Wood & Kroger, 2000). With the multidisciplinary background of DA, it is not surprising that there are multiple definitions of discourse and also a debate as to what is considered to be discourse (Wood & Kroger, 2000). Phillips and Jørgensen (2002) defined discourse in a general manner by noting it is “a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)” (p. 1). Elaborating on this, Phillips and Hardy (2002) viewed discourse as
“an interrelated set of texts, the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception that brings an object into being” (p. 3). Fairclough (2012) referred to discourses as “semiotic ways of construing aspects of the world (physical, social or mental) that can generally be identified with different positions or perspectives of different groups of social actors” (p. 11). ‘Semiotic’ is a commonly used term in DA and refers to the production of meaning, with a focus on how the functions and uses of signs (such as words, symbols and images) are used in activities of social life (Danesi, 2007).

Flowerdew and Richardson (2018) took a similar approach in defining discourse, noting it is a “specific set of meanings expressed through particular forms and uses which give expression to particular institutions or social groups” (p. 2).

In sport studies, authors rarely provide a definition for their use of the term ‘discourse’, though Wodak (2008) noted, “the meaning of discourse is closely linked to the particular research context and theoretical approach” (p. 5). This variation of the word ‘discourse’ is somewhat to be expected with the requirement that the reader try to understand how the term is being used in the context of the communication. However, I would argue that sport management scholars should provide a definition, not only for the benefit of the reader but also to aid in framing one’s project. Machin and Mayr (2012) noted how the term ‘discourse’ has been used in attempts to explain broad and shared societal ideas regarding how the world works and as a result, it is assumed that a discourse contains values, ideas, activities, and identities. This makes DA and CDA a fruitful avenue for sport scholars, as there is a dominant recognition of sport as microcosm of society. Discourse analysis suggests that authors are seen as making communicative choices (i.e., what words or pictures to use) to encourage the receiver to
“place events and ideas into broader frameworks of interpretation that are referred to as ‘discourses’” (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 20). These frameworks trigger associations and, in turn, shape how the receiver is encouraged to process the communicative event (Machin & Mayr, 2012). For example, the use of the term ‘Raider Nation’ may trigger, for fans of the Oakland Raiders (a National Football League team), a sense of belongingness, loyalty, and expansiveness of fan territory that is associated with the discourse of ‘nation’.

Texts, which are “considered a discursive ‘unit’ and a material manifestation of discourse” (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 70), represent discourses. DA provides an avenue to understand how texts construct the social world by exploring different meanings given to them (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). As with the term ‘discourse’, there are different perspectives on what constitutes a text. Most commonly, oral and written words are considered texts, such as poems, field notes, sport documentaries, television shows, and films, in addition to other conceptualizations including nonverbal interactions and aspects such as body language, artifacts, images, and symbols. (Fairclough, 2012; Jancsary, Höllerer, & Meyer, 2016; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Phillips & Hardy, 2002). There are multiple texts that can be used for data interviews, focus groups, print media, social media content, marketing campaigns, sport organization policies, internship or job descriptions, sport related movies or documentaries, and sport advertising (print or commercial), amongst many more data sources.

Importantly, texts do not create meaning in isolation (Wodak, 2008). It is through the knowledge of the world and the text itself, the connection with other texts, as well as the production, dissemination, and consumption of the text that allows it to become
meaningful (Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Wodak, 2008). For example, ‘you run like a girl’ is a text. These utterances can occur with the intention of insulting others they identify as inferior to them in physical abilities. As a result, it contributes to and maintains not only male dominance in sport but also the association of value with men’s sports and athletic abilities instead of women’s. Since the phrase is based on the contextual meaning assigned, others may want to reclaim and reassign a different meaning. For example, the Always brand employed a campaign called ‘#LikeAGirl’ that connotes girls as strong, capable, and valued in sport and physical activity settings. Wodak (2008) summarized the differences between discourse and text as the following: “discourse implies patterns and commonalities of knowledge and structures, [whereas] text is a specific and unique realization of discourse” (p. 6).

4.3.3 Critical discourse analysis: Theoretical approaches for methodology.

Prior to the discussion of CDA, it is important to note that there is a movement towards using the term critical discourse studies (CDS) instead of critical discourse analysis. CDA is often perceived as solely a method, since ‘analysis’ implies methodology (van Dijk, 2013). It is argued that CDS better reflects the variety of theories, methods, analysis, and practices a critical discourse researcher may implement (van Dijk, 2013). Of note, Fairclough continues to use the term CDA in his work. He recognizes CDA has part of critical social analysis and that there are multiple versions of CDA (Fairclough, 2012). Since the purpose of this article is to discuss CDA as a methodology, I will use this term, however I will provide some theoretical background to other related critical discourse approaches.

CDA has been defined as “a type of discourse analytical research that primarily
studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (van Dijk, 2008b, p. 85). It is the ‘critical’ component that differs this approach from DA. van Dijk (2013) argued that being critical is a state of mind and not an obvious method of analyzing talk and text. Importantly, ‘critical’ does not need to be synonymous with ‘negative’ (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). That is, any social phenomena can undergo critical exploration, by challenging it instead of automatically taking it for granted (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). CDA goes beyond the relationship between language and discourse, in that this approach is problem-centered and emphasizes the need for social change. CDA itself encompasses a plethora of approaches, however, the unifying element of the various approaches is a common interest in how discourse structures are used to produce and reproduce social dominance (Fairclough et al., 2011; van Dijk, 2001a). Therefore, CDA can be used to understand how language supports or challenges cultural and social structures and processes (Machin & Mayr, 2012). CDA serves not only to question the status quo, but also to expose the manipulative conduct of discursive practices (Tenorio, 2011).

Researchers using CDA have the ability to provide a link between micro and macro levels of society (e.g.; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; van Dijk, 2001b, 2008b). Communication such as language use and verbal interaction fall in the micro level, and ideologies related to inequality, dominance, and power would be found in the macro level (van Dijk, 2008b). Experiences and everyday interactions that occur at both micro and macro levels create a collective whole (van Dijk, 2008b). The macro level of society would encompass organizations, communities and groups, and the micro level would include interactions occurring between social members. This macro-micro connection
creates a relevant connection for sport management scholars in being able to explore how micro interactions lead to macro level discourses. For example, investigating this connection could be accomplished through exploring employees’ contribution to organizational culture, how fans’ collective power has potential to create managerial change in sport teams, and how everyday microaggressions cause discrimination or inequality in multiple sport contexts.

To clarify CDA as theory and method, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) identified a number of foundational features to this approach. These characteristics have frequently appeared in CDA literature (e.g., Fairclough et al., 2011; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002; van Dijk, 2001a; 2008b). To begin, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) noted that CDA addresses social problems by promoting social and cultural analysis on a macro level. For example, diversity policies (or lack thereof) could be attributed to seeing an increase (or resistance) of diversity in leadership positions. Second, they stated that power relations are discursive, thereby concluding that CDA “focuses on the social relations of power… and how power relations are exercised and negotiated in discourses” (p. 272). Third, discourses are constituents of society and culture. To expand, every instance of language use contributes to reinforcing or transforming culture and society. Fourth, discourse involves ideological work. They define ideologies as “particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation” (p. 275). To determine how a certain type of discursive event involves ideologies, analysis must go beyond text to the interpretation and representation of social dynamics associated with the discourse (as discussed in the ‘you run like a girl’ example). The fifth feature of CDA as stated by Fairclough and Wodak (1997) is
recognition that discourse is historical, meaning that one must consider the cultural and ideological situations in which the discourse is embedded. This feature also involves intertextuality (how texts connect to other texts of the past and in the present), and interdiscursivity (how discourses are connected to other discourses; Wodak, 2008). Next, the link between text and society is mediated. This means that there are connections between the properties of texts and social and cultural structures and processes. They suggest that the particular type of CDA chosen can impact our understanding of how this mediation occurs (e.g., Fairclough’s approach suggested that mediation occurs through discourse practices compared to van Dijk’s approach which suggested it is cognitive).

Seventh, discourses are open to multiple interpretations, which are dependent upon the audience and amount of context provided. That is, our knowledge, attitudes, and emotions can influence the meaning assigned to texts. Lastly, discourse can be viewed as a form of social action. This is due to the fact that it uncovers power relations and taken-for-granted understandings through language use. This social action speaks to the practical nature of the approach, by focusing on non-discriminatory language or changing power and discourses of organizations. The descriptions of this approach demonstrate both the extensive reach and complexity that characterize critical discourse analysis.

There have been a number of approaches to critical discourse analysis. The caveat, as van Dijk (2013) and McGannon (2017) noted, is there is no ‘one’ or ‘correct’ method to be used for CDA, but rather appropriate methods must correspond to the context of the project, specifically the research question, goals, aim, and data. The theoretical component of CDA, including its epistemological considerations, is inextricably linked to the methodology (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2010). Wagner and
Møller Pedersen (2014) noted that using CDA “transgresses the boundary between method and theory” (p. 164). While it is possible for studies to choose a case study or phenomenological research design in a variety of topics and theoretical perspectives, CDA requires the researcher to place emphasis on uncovering power relations, inequality, and social dominance.

Some of the most common approaches in CDA literature are presented next to provide sport management scholars with different options to take in future research. These approaches include Wodak and colleagues’ discourse-historical approach, van Dijk’s sociocognitive approach, Fairclough’s dialectical-relational approach, and a multimodal approach. The approaches chosen here are also relevant and applicable to sport management contexts. Missing from this list is a focus on Foucault, however Edwards and Skinner (2009) detailed his contribution and the relation to sport management in their work.

4.3.3.1 Wodak and colleagues’ discourse-historical approach.

Wodak and colleagues’ discourse-historical approach (DHA) was created for a study regarding post-war anti-Semitism occurring in Austria (Wodak, 2001). While CDA approaches will all have similarities (i.e., focus on socio-political and historical contexts and critiquing power, ideologies, and/or inequality), DHA’s goal is to “attempt to integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of a written or spoken text” (Fairclough et al., 2011, p. 364). Reisgl (2018) noted 10 distinctive features of DHA, which involves emphasizing certain elements of CDA more than other approaches. While I recommend Reisgl’s
work for those seeking an overview of DHA, I will discuss a few of the distinctive features to situate this approach in relation to others.

First, focusing on historical subjects and historical anchoring is fundamental to DHA. Wodak (2001) noted that emphasizing historical components make it possible to: “follow the genesis and transformation of arguments, the recontextualization throughout different and important public spaces resulting from the social interests of the participants and their power relations” (p. 72). Therefore, DHA requires a diachronic perspective to explore how language has developed and changed over time (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). For example, it may have been common to refer to athletes who are women as ‘girls’ but it has been suggested that downplays their skill and infantilizes them. Now, ‘women’ is commonly used. Even in my own research, I had used the term ‘female fans’ but now use the term ‘women fans’ in an effort to be inclusive to anyone who may identify as a woman.

This approach also follows principles of triangulation by requiring multiple sources of empirical data/observations, theories, and methods from a variety of backgrounds (Resigil, 2018; Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). DHA recognizes argumentation as central to rhetoric, and analytically, focuses on the content of argumentation schemes (Reisigl, 2018). Those who employ this approach will also be more concerned with functional pragmatics, as opposed to other linguistic theories (such as systemic functional linguistics which Fairclough calls upon). As well, the practical component plays a significant role, with researchers focusing on knowledge translation, often writing policies or documents to focus on inclusive language (Reisigl, 2018). This last feature
makes this approach relevant to apply in sport management contexts, by placing emphasis on connecting research and industry.

Reisigl (2018) also mentioned relevant areas of study for a DHA approach. These areas include discourse in relation to discrimination, language barriers in social institutions, politics and policies, identity, history, media, and ecology. When conducting studies on these topics, researchers using DHA will engage in social critique involving three related aspects (Reisigl, 2018; Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). ‘Text or discourse immanent critique’ is knowledge based and seeks to uncover inconsistencies in texts and discourse structures (Reisigl, 2018; Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). The second is ‘socio-diagnostic critique’, which “is concerned with uncovering the – particularly latent – persuasive or ‘manipulative’ character of discursive practices” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 25). This critique requires calling upon the interdisciplinarity of CDA, bringing in models and theories from multiple disciplines. Lastly, ‘prospective critique’ is about creating concrete applications to improve communication by both reducing language barriers and dysfunctional communication (Reisigl, 2018; Reisigl & Wodak, 2016).

Overall, DHA is concerned with uncovering the transformation of arguments and on understanding how recontextualization can occur in important public spaces (Wodak, 2001). For example, if a researcher were studying how people discussed players of different races in social media setting, they could explore how fallacies could become sound arguments given proper citations from ‘credible’ sources. Additionally, social media could be a place in which people are less concerned with censoring their thoughts, and therefore, this topic could be contextualized differently in this public space. For example, Raheem Sterling, who currently plays for European Football with Manchester
City, has received a lot of attention in British newspapers. Frequently, the headlines can be interpreted as racist and even Sterling made a comment on social media about the racist nature of these stories and headlines. Individuals on social media may buy into the racist discourses that are present in the media and use those to justify their perceptions of him as an athlete. This analysis would then be situated in the historical context of racism in European football. This approach also makes it possible to achieve a purpose of CDA methodology, which is to create meaningful explanations of discourses that surround differences and sameness (Wodak, 2001). For example, a study could explore how successful careers of players are discussed differently in multiple media settings through racial discourses.

4.3.3.1.1 Analytical Strategies.

While there are many unique components to consider, Reisigl and Wodak (2016) provide an eight-step program for conducting a DHA study, which offers a general guideline for researchers seeking to implement this approach. For now, I will place emphasis on the analytical strategies of DHA. Reisigl and Wodak (2016) suggested exploring five discursive strategies for this approach. The first is nomination, which includes membership categorization, and metaphors. Second, predication focus on evaluating attributes in a negative or positive manner, focusing on nouns, allusions, and comparisons amongst other elements. Third, argumentation involves “justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness” (p. 33). Fourth is perspectivization, which explores the perspective of the speaker or writer (involved or neutral). Lastly, intensification or mitigation involves exploring questions versus assertions, verbs that relate to emotions (saying, thinking, feeling), and diminutiveness
versus augmentatives. If a researcher was interested in studying how Raheem Sterling has been portrayed in British media, they would be able to go through these five steps and explore the language used in articles and headlines to expose racist discourse.

**4.3.3.2 van Dijk’s sociocognitive approach.**

A different perspective on CDA is van Dijk’s (2001a, 2001b, 2008b, 2009, 2016) sociocognitive approach. What separates his approach from others is the focus on the connection between discourse, cognition, and society, or in his terms, the Discourse-Cognition-Society triangle (van Dijk, 2016). While any CDA approach focuses on the relationship between discourse and society, van Dijk believed this relation to be mediated cognitively. van Dijk (2018) noted that socio-cognitive discourse studies (SCDS) deals with the “shared social knowledge, as well as the attitudes and ideologies of language users as current participants of the communicative situation and as members of social groups and communities” (p. 28).

van Dijk (2016) acknowledged that: “discourse structures and social structures are of a different nature and can only be related through the mental representations of language users as individuals and as social members” (p.64). According to van Dijk (2016) social situations, structures, and interactions influence text and talk because people’s interpretation is based on the social environment. For example, if we are presenting at an academic conference, it will influence how our language use compared to the casual conversations with colleagues in our office on the same topic. Discourse then influences social interactions and structures through individual and shared cognition, which involves mental models, ideologies, attitudes, and knowledge. Of note, van Dijk’s work is extensive, and he has written multiple books and articles on the various aspects of
discourse including context, knowledge, power, and ideologies. I will provide a brief overview of his approach.

van Dijk (2016) noted that there are three cognitive structures that are essential in the production and understanding of discourses: memory, mental models, and social cognition. First, memory includes Working Memory (WM; also known as short-term memory), as well as Long Term Memory (LTM). Within LTM, autobiographical knowledge and experiences are stored in Episodic Memory (EM) whereas social knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies are stored in Semantic Memory (SM). Second, mental models are connected to memory in the sense that our everyday experiences are stored in WM, which are then represented as unique, distinct, and subjective mental models. Lastly, van Dijk (2016) noted that social cognition differs from mental models (which are individual and unique), because it involves socially shared knowledge, which connects an individual to other members of a community. For example, if I were talking about American football with fellow fan, I may use slang such as ‘pick 6’ or ‘gunslinger’. If I were speaking to someone who is not a fan, I would need to provide them with background information (i.e., knowledge) so they could understand the context and meaning of this language. Members of a group may also share attitudes as well as fundamental ideologies. It is these cognitive structures (i.e., memory, mental models and social cognition) that allow interaction, communication, and cooperation, which result in discourse (e.g., feminist ideologies, political ideologies). The sentences and paragraphs of discourses are managed in WM and then are controlled through knowledge (as well as ideologies on occasion) and mental models stored in LTM.
van Dijk (2016) makes a distinction between the two types of mental models involved in discourse processing. First, situation models (also known as semantic models) signify what the situation may refer to or is about. This model considers the personal interpretation of the discourse as well as how to define its meaningfulness and coherence in a local and global context. The other model is based on context (also known as pragmatic model). This model focuses on the appropriateness of a discourse in regards to the communicative event. It looks at what information of the situation model should be appropriately discussed and how this should occur.

While there are many ways to explore mental representation and the cognitive notion of discourse, a specific element that is applicable and relevant to sport management is ideologies. There are many details in van Dijk’s work regarding ideologies, so only a few relevant key points are provided. First, van Dijk (2001b) defined ideologies as: “a form of self-schema of (the members of) groups, that is, a representation of themselves as a group, especially in relation to other groups. Processes of social identification ultimately take place on the shared social representations we call ideologies” (p. 14). Therefore, ideologies are comprised of shared sociocultural knowledge, as well as group values, norms, and attitudes (van Dijk, 2001b). van Dijk believes that not all ideologies are dominant, and that ideologies can be good or bad based on the “consequences of social practices based on them” (p. 14). These systems of ideas are the basis for social practices and discourses of members of social groups (van Dijk, 2006). Flowerdew and Richardson (2018) noted that ideologies become accepted through legitimation, which refers to “a set of beliefs and values become accepted by virtue of the fact that society accepts the authority of those disseminating them” (p. 3).
van Dijk (2001b) elaborated that ideologies are representations that allow group members to self-identify based on shared representations. This self-identification is also used to distinguish themselves from other groups. Therefore, ideologies are able to play a role in representations that create opposition (i.e., us versus them; van Dijk, 2001b). van Dijk (1998, 2006, 2016) acknowledged that discourses have a role to play in the reproduction of ideologies, in that they allow group members to explicitly and directly express their ideologies. This can be explored through the ideological discourse structures (van Dijk, 2016). Importantly, ideologies indirectly influence discourses. Due to these systems of ideas influencing social attitudes (i.e., opinions of group members), they can also control the meaning during text production and consumption (van Dijk, 2001b).

4.3.3.2.1 Analytical strategies.

Of note, van Dijk does not provide a general outline or steps of a methodology for this approach. In referring to this approach as socio-cognitive discourse studies (instead of discourse analysis), van Dijk (2018) noted it is open to a wide variety of methodologies, theories, and methods. From this perspective, it is the mental representations and processes that must be analyzed in detail. He noted that the cognitive notions of knowledge or beliefs can be present in many discourse structures such as metaphors, presuppositions, phonological stress, argumentations, frames, and implications (van Dijk, 2018). As mentioned, van Dijk’s work is extensive and therefore, I will focus on analytical strategies in regard to ideological structures of discourse as they relate to sport management.

In my own work, I called upon van Dijk’s (2016) ideological structures of discourse, which include: polarization (positive in group representation and negative
outgroup representation), pronouns (we/us/our vs. they/their/Them), identification (being a member of an ideological group, such as feminists), emphasis of positive self-descriptions and negative other descriptions, activities (self-identifying with groups based on what they do such as defending or protecting the group by marginalizing others), norms and values, and interests (reference to interests of a group, using symbolic notions such as knowledge or status) (van Dijk, 2016). I only used four of these discursive strategies, as they were most relevant to my work. In working with tweets as data, I was able to demonstrate how cultural boundaries were drawn using language that created separation amongst various groups of fans.

Another option for investigating ideologies is through van Dijk’s (2001b) six fundamental categories of social groupness: membership devices (i.e., who are we), actions (i.e., what do we do?), aims (i.e., why do we do this?), norms and values (i.e., what is good or bad?), position (i.e., what is our position in society and how do we relate to other groups?), and resources (i.e., what is ours? What do we want to have or keep at all costs?). Simon-Maeda (2013) used this approach in exploring how Japanese baseball player Daisuke Matsuzaka was Americanized in media representations while playing in the MLB (Major League Baseball). He concluded that the findings: “highlight how the media, acting as the mouthpiece for the sports world, employs text and images to influence and reinforce readers’ and fans’ attitudes towards a high-profile sports figure” (p. 928). With the vast amount of work on social identity in sport management contexts, this approach provides a similar but refreshing avenue to employ in future studies.
4.3.3.3 Fairclough’s dialectical-relational approach.

Fairclough’s approach to CDA has focused on creating social change and transformation (Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough et al., 2011). He viewed discourse as predominantly written or spoken words but it can also include other semiotic aspects such as non-verbal communication (e.g., images and body language). Fairclough recognized ‘discourse practices’ as the mediator between discourse and society, which places emphasis on discourse as a form of social practice. This viewpoint is based on his understanding of language: it is a type of action, it is socially and historically situated, and it involves a dialectical relationship with other elements of social contexts, meaning that it is socially shaped and socially shaping.

Fairclough (1995a) stated: “language use is always simultaneously constitutive of (i) social identities, (ii) social relations and (iii) systems of knowledge and belief” (p. 92). Due to these characteristics of language, Fairclough argued that a theory of language is required, which he includes in his approach by incorporating work from Halliday (a foundational scholar in linguistics). He also added that language use can be socially reproduced or transformed depending on the circumstance. For example, ESPN websites likely cover more men’s sports than women’s, reproducing the association of sports with men. However, the ESPNW website (dedicated to women’s sport) could be more transformative in associating sport with women’s events as well.

Fairclough’s (1995b) approach goes on to explain how CDA views discursive practices (i.e., the production, distribution, and consumption of texts) in terms of networks that he refers to as the orders of discourse. Orders of discourse of a social field or institution are: “constituted by all the discursive types which are used there”
Discursive types refer to genres and discourse, with genres being a certain way language is used to contribute to social practice or “semiotic ways of acting or interacting” (Fairclough, 2016, p. 88), such as TV news, reports, newspaper, political speeches, and so forth (Fairclough, 2016; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2020). The purpose of orders of discourse is to explore the relationship between different discursive types in the same setting and across settings (Fairclough, 1992, 1995a, 1995b). For example, in a sport organization, a researcher could explore the genres and discourses of management, players, and fans and determine if there is a strict boundary between them or if they share particular texts. One could also explore the same question as it pertains to different orders of discourses, such as sport organizations and media companies: is there an overlap of genres and discourses or is it completely separate? The important focus on orders of discourse is that “social and cultural changes very often manifest themselves discursively through a redrawing of boundaries within and between orders of discourse” (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 56). He further explained that these boundaries could also be a source of social conflict or struggle (Fairclough, 1995b). That is, cultural hegemony can occur in circumstances where dominant groups attempt to maintain a particular structure between and within the orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1995b). For example, hosting the Olympics is often portrayed as positive for the location, suggesting there will be increased spending in the local economy, facilities will be dedicated to citizens after use, and new jobs will be created. This perspective can be reinforced through news segments, city counselors tweeting in support, local businesses creating posters to support the bid, and so forth. That is, this one message of positivity is reinforced from individuals with similar ideologies through multiple genres and discourses. There is also an opportunity
that hosting a major event could be positively reinforced by politicians and negatively framed by media, causing discrepancies between the orders of discourse.

**4.3.3.1 Methodology and analytical strategies.**

Recently, Fairclough (2016) suggested four stages to follow during the methodological process. To illustrate this methodology, I will use the topic of hypermasculinity in sport as an example during explanation. He recommended that researchers use these steps not in a strict manner but as a guideline for using CDA as a methodology. The first step is to focus on a social wrong and the semiotic aspects associated with the wrong. In order to challenge hypermasculinity in sport, the wrong can be the exclusion or devaluing of individuals who do not exhibit this trait (such as women or individuals who are queer). The second is to identify difficulties in addressing the wrong. In this step, one must recognize the semiotic elements of the wrong. In relation to the example, there is maintenance of hegemonic masculinity (which is in direct contrast to femininity or homosexuality), through commentator language (e.g., calling women athletes ‘girls’), advertisements (e.g., only displaying men in powerful poses, action shots, images of athletes with scantily clad women), and sport fan behaviour (e.g., yelling homophobic slurs at the players or other fans). This relation to sport with hegemonic masculinity creates obstacles to addressing hypermasculinity. Once that has been recognized, one would need to consider what semantic strategies will be analyzed (e.g., representational strategies, rhetoric, legitimization, argumentation, etc.), and then the texts must be analyzed. The third step considers if the social order needs the social wrong. In the context of hypermasculinity in sport, hegemonic masculinity is used for commercialization of the sport, to sell tickets, merchandise, for athletes and apparel
companies to use in their branding, and so on. Therefore, it could be perceived as a need to not only maintain the integrity of sport but also for the commercial and consumption aspects. The last step is to identify multiple ways past the difficulties. Based on the texts used to analyze hypermasculinity in sport, one would come up with potential strategies to create a cultural change around this mentality. This methodology continues to allow CDA scholars to incorporate multiple ways of analyzing the data and using multiple sources of data.

To analyze the discourses with a focus on these relationships, he developed a three-dimensional analytical framework (Fairclough, 1992, 1995a). Fairclough’s (1992, 1995a) three-dimensional analytical framework is arguably one of the most commonly used (e.g., Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). He noted that to critically investigate discourses of a communicative event, the relationship between three dimensions of that event must be analyzed: text (e.g., spoken or written words), discourse practice (i.e., the process of text production and consumption), and social practice (i.e., the cultural and social contexts that the event is part of). The first dimension is text analysis. This requires analyzing the meanings of text, linguistic elements such as vocabulary or grammar, and ideology and identities within the texts. The second dimension is discourse practice, which explores how the text is produced and consumed, placing attention to the interpretation of the meaning of the text. For example, on social media it can be challenging to interpret the context when there is no tone provided. However, using emojis or GIFS allow the reader to interpret the text based on the context. Importantly, discourse practices are the mediator between text and social practice. That is, sociocultural practices shape texts but only through the way texts are
produced and consumed (i.e., discourse practices). Here, it is also relevant to explore the producer of the text, and how their ideologies and background influence their use of language. The last dimension is sociocultural practices. This entails placing the text within the broader situational, institutional, societal, and cultural contexts. To illustrate, for a researcher who studies discourses of women sport fans the situational context could be the game environment, the institutional context is that sports are considered a male institution, and the societal context relates to women’s place in a patriarchal society.

The benefit of using Fairclough’s three-dimensional analysis is evident in the flexibility it offers. It provides a structure but allows for the various theories and approaches used to be implemented. For example, in my own work, I used van Dijk’s ideological structures of discourse to place emphasis on polarization, as well as in-group favouritism and out-group degradation. I was able to take the theoretical portion of CDA that I wanted to employ and used Fairclough’s framework as a guide throughout the process. Furthermore, this framework is applicable regardless of the type of text that is under investigation.

4.3.3.4 Multimodal.

Multimodal CDA goes beyond focusing on written text to other elements of communication. One way this occurs is by focusing on various modes, which are noted by Kress (2010) as: “a socially shaped and culturally given semiotic resource for making meaning. Image, writing, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving image, soundtrack, and 3D objects are examples of modes used in representation and communication” (p. 79, emphasis his). There are multiple aspects to this approach to CDA, one of which is acknowledging it is not an analytical approach but a way of recognizing discourses exist
in various semiotic forms (Janscary et al., 2016). Focusing on criticality, Janscary and colleagues noted that “visual [communication] is often able to ‘disguise’ power structures and hegemony as ‘objective’ representations” (p. 184). Power structures are present in recognizing the way modes serve to empower some and marginalize others.

Visual communication represents how the author’s choices are embedded in their cultural and social positioning and interests. When focusing on the power relations in visual communication, it is important to recognize whether the author does not need to consider their audience or if the audience drives the creation of the visual information (i.e., who holds the power?) (Janscary et al., 2016). For example, multiple studies have explored the depiction of women athletes on the cover of *Sports Illustrated* (e.g., Fink & Kensicki, 2002; Kane, 1988; Weber & Carini, 2013). Findings demonstrate these athletes are more often shown in passive shots, in non-sporting clothes and environments, in typically ‘feminine’ sport contexts, and in sexually objectifying manners. A CDA perspective would question whether it is the ‘powerful’ individuals working at *Sports Illustrated* making decisions about the portrayals of female athletes, or if the audience of the magazine, who is predominately males, are demanding to see women in non-threatening ways, emphasizing femininity. While many studies will employ content analysis for visual data, Phillips and Hardy (2002) noted the aim of using a discourse approach is: “to identify (some of) the multiple meanings assigned to text, which means that more systematic, laborsaving forms of analysis (such as traditional content analysis) are counterproductive because they aim at rapid consolidation of categories” (p. 74). Using multimodal CDA, these studies could be expanded to focus on who the producer and audience is of the text (i.e., cover of *Sports Illustrated*), what vocabulary is used on
the cover, what social reality is portrayed and what hypothetical social context is portrayed, how do the verbal and visual elements relate to each, and how does the composition of the modes (visual, written) reinforce or challenge power relations in the context?

4.3.3.4.1 Methodology and analytical strategies.

Janscary et al. (2016) created a five-step methodology for using multimodal CDA. The first step is characterizing the genre, which is about understanding genre rules and dimensions (e.g., understanding Twitter as a genre vs. a policy genre or a TV sports program genre). Step two is capturing the manifest content, focusing on the conventional meaning of visuals or words. The third step is reconstructing latent elements, which involves going beyond the surface to focus on the concealed meanings related to social reality, social context, and absences or “unrealized alternatives” (p. 197). The fourth step is composition, which is known as an essential component in multimodal meaning-making. This stage involves looking at how modes are integrated (e.g., how texts and visuals are interacting). The last step, conclusions and critical evaluations, bring in the power focus and relates the analysis to broader social and cultural issues and contexts.

There are many possibilities of discursive strategies to be examined with this approach. I have listed a few acknowledged by Machin and Mayr (2012) that may be of use for sport management scholars. First, iconography focuses on what is denoted or connoted. By this, it is not only analyzing what and who is being shown (denoted), but also abstract ideas that are being communicated through visual representations. The salience of an image or visual can be examined by exploring portions that are geared towards standing out and grabbing attention, such as the size of people or objects, focus,
foregrounding, and overlapping. As well, representational strategies in language aid in deciphering referential choices. Visually, these strategies can include distance (which signifies social relations), whether individuals or collectives are being portrayed (homogeneity or heterogeneity in groups), and exclusion (who and what is not being presented).

Arguably, visuals play a significant role in sport. Beyond the obvious concept of watching sport, there are half time shows, visual content on screens around stadiums/fields/arenas, promotional content, advertisement and marketing campaigns in visual forms, logos, fan clothing, content in newspapers and magazines, sport broadcasts, and so forth. In addition, sounds and 3D objects can have semiotic meaning, which also plays out in sport atmospheres in the forms of sounds at the games, in commercials, words spoken by commentators, and 3D objects such as sport fan clothing and memorabilia. The power that these semiotic modes have makes multimodal CDA a worthy approach for sport management research.

4.3.4 Analyzing in CDA.

As seen thus far, there are no standardized guidelines or steps to follow when implementing CDA, but rather suggestions based on the approach. Leitch and Palmer (2010) created nine protocols for analytical and conceptual procedures of CDA in organizational studies. While this work produced a systematic approach, which is lacking in CDA, there was a rebuttal from Chouliaraki and Fairclough (2010) by suggesting the way forward for CDA in organizational studies should be less towards tighter definitions of context or rigorous methodological protocols and more towards stronger conceptual links between discourse, power, and other ‘moments’ of
social process that emerge as theoretical and empirical problems… as well as
towards a more versatile and porous methodologies that make space for novel
interdisciplinary research designs in the field. (p. 1214)

This response recognizes the inherent flexibility and fluidity that is part of critical
discourse analysis. It reinforces the role of researcher as the instrument and puts the
researcher in a position to reflectively employ the most suitable approach based on the
project’s goals. The breadth of analysis techniques is vast, and the diversity of
phenomena being studied means that the form of analysis will vary (Phillips & Hardy,
2002). However, this can also cause challenges for novice researchers or those new to
CDA who may feel uncertain about how to proceed. Therefore, it is important to
researchers to be transparent and descriptive in their particular approach to and use of
critical discourse analysis.

4.3.4.1 Options for analysis.

Once the data source has been selected, it is important to determine what the
researcher will be analyzing in that data. Again, this reverts back to CDA’s premise that
what is analyzed is based on the goals of the research project. In this case, I highly
recommend reading Machin and Mayr’s (2012) book How to do Critical Discourse
Analysis, which discusses the multiple semiotic choices that can be analyzed. There are
some that I would like to draw attention to that may be of benefit for sport management
research. First, word connotations relate to lexical choices, meaning what language is
being used and with what motivation. Suppression or lexical absence involves focusing
on how terms may be missing that we would expect. In this case, I think of when athletes
are identified as someone’s partner or based on their race or gender, instead of by their
Lastly, representational strategies in language aid in deciphering referential choices. These can include describing individuals or part as a collective, objectification, and pronouns versus nouns. This is in addition to the options for analysis listed in the multimodal CDA section. While each of the four approaches discussed may have their own directions for how data should be analyzed, the researcher has the ability to choose the semiotic property that best fits based on their theoretical approach and research question. While it is beyond the scope of this article to go into depth about all possible analytical processes, Wodak and Krzyżanowski’s (2008) book *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences* focuses on analyzing multiple data sources (print media, new media, interviews, focus groups). While not directly associated with CDA, this book provides a good starting point for developing an analytical approach to one’s project.

**4.3.4.2 A starting point for analysis.**

McGannon (2017) released a chapter on CDA for sport and exercise research (which is highly recommended). She explained, applied, and elaborated on Parker’s (1992) three criteria for making discourse politically and socially useful. The first two are: discourse is about objects and discourse is about subjects. She elaborates that “sites of subjectivity/positioning within the discourses must be identified” (p. 237). Whilst reading, she encourages making notes to keep track of what is being said, what are the discursive objects being discussed, and what concepts or words are used to discuss these objects. The other criterion, subjects, relates to acknowledging the subjective identities of the producer of the language, which impacts their ways of speaking and thinking. The third criterion is to consider the discourses as coherent systems of meaning, then refine and name them. This process involves going back and forth between the texts and
discourses present in the literature. Using words or concepts from the first two criteria, discourses can be determined that represent key meanings. Most importantly, the discourses chosen must be connected to ideology and power to fit the theoretical aspects of critical discourse analysis. This chapter by McGannon (2017) is useful in aiding researchers who are new to CDA throughout the analytical process; providing prompts and reminders along the way. This process could be used with any of the approaches previously listed.

4.3.5 CDA in sport management studies.

Phillips and colleagues (2008) noted the work that has used CDA in management settings have a shared interest in “exploring how organizations, industries, and their environments (i.e., their broader social contexts) are created and maintained through discourse” (p. 773). This section will provide a brief summary of previous sport management studies that use CDA and how CDA provides a beneficial approach in creating new knowledge.

Some studies in sport management journals use the concepts ‘critical’ and ‘discourse’, and even use analytical strategies of CDA, but do not specifically call upon or acknowledge CDA. One recent exception includes Chen and Mason (2018) who used postcolonialism-informed critical discourse analysis to explore how non-Western leadership is presented in Western sport management literature. Using sport management journals and leadership textbooks as data and implementing CDA strategies of locus of enunciation and the three-dimensional analysis framework, they found that Western theories are often prescribed as solutions for non-Western contexts. The significance of this work recognizes how the same discourses have been produced for years but do not
reflect the cultural, social, or historical nuances of leadership in non-Western contexts. This study encourages sport management scholars, through combining postcolonialism with critical discourse analysis, to value knowledge from alternative perspectives and encourages reflection in both methods and theory.

Amara and Henry (2010) used critical discourse analysis to inform policy makers in sport organizations. By exploring both the complexities of Muslims’ relationship with sport and religion and policy makers’ understandings of Muslim communities’ needs, they were able to demonstrate the plurality of discourses. From a managerial perspective, they recognized that bringing Muslim populations into the broader discourse of fitness for everyone (i.e., focusing on a healthy and fitter population as a whole) might be interpreted as assimilation instead of addressing the religious needs of particular groups to engage in sport and exercise.

While Amara and Henry (2010) focused on policy, Hu and Henry (2017) focused on sport governance by exploring the management of elite sport system in China through CDA. Through using multiple data sources (i.e., policy documents, interpretation and commentary, and individual interviews), they illustrated how there are competing elite sport management discourses between sporting systems, with power shifting from one to the other over time. This finding acknowledged the shift in power relates to which voices control the interpretation and therefore, which discourses may be taken as reality in elite sport systems.

Wagner and Møller Pedersen (2014) placed emphasis on CDA as a theoretical component through employing institutional discourse and genre. Using Olympic Review articles as a data source, they explored how the IOC discussed anti-doping in sport and
how organizational changes occurred. They noted that: “the logic provided by a discourse can be twisted, slightly moderated and fitted into the strategic agenda of an organization, and even to the goals of individuals” (p. 164). When the IOC’s position became threatened, they used anti-doping discourses to reinforce their anti-doping commitment, which resulted in the developing of the World Anti-Doping Agency. This research demonstrates how discourses are used to create organizational change and for organizations to engage in identity formation during times of crises.

These studies demonstrate the value of CDA in providing new and alternative insights into the field of sport management. There are a multitude of opportunities to employ CDA in various sub-disciplines. To compliment Chen and Mason’s (2018) work, studies could explore the visual represent of sport leadership from a multimodal perspective. That is, how is leadership visually portrayed and who is (and just as important, who is not) considered a leader? This could be explored in textbooks but also through popular media articles, sport segments on TV, or even in sport-related movies. This work can contribute to deconstructing dominant discourses of leadership. Interviews could be conducted with leadership personnel and explore how their responses may be embedded in power relations. CDA could also be implemented to explore the differing viewpoints on hosting major events. Pulling from multiple sources, researchers could explore how discourses of hosting are contradictory and complex. It could also explore how these viewpoints are based in differing ideologies, focusing on how power relations are played out, and how language is used to frame who benefits from hosting these types of events.
CDA, having a strong background in linguistics, is easily connected to studies of sport communication. This approach can be implemented in exploring press releases, organizational and athlete responses to transgressions, the role of sport journalists in creating discourses, and how headlines or topics in newspapers and magazines challenge or reinforce dominant discourses in sport. Communication is also evident in marketing campaigns and advertising. Future work could deconstruct the visual and textual elements of marketing to expose discourses and unequal power relations. Further, commercials that air during sporting events could be analyzed. This work could aid in understanding what type of discourses are being associated with sport and deconstructing the taken-for-granted norms and ideologies embedded in sport that are pulled upon by other organizations and companies for marketing purposes.

CDA can provide a fruitful avenue for exploring existing sport management artifacts. Studies could explore what texts are used in internship postings, and how power relations are embedded in the descriptions. To continue with Amaro and Henry’s (2010) work, studies can investigate existing policies of sport organizations at multiple levels (community, amateur, intercollegiate, professional) in regards to diversity, codes of conduct, and recruitment and screening. Further, these policies can be critiqued to determine if they follow human rights laws, involve discrimination, or are not useful in the meeting the needs of their constituents.

Critical discourse analysis is relevant to the field of sport management. It offers an avenue to research existing texts created by and for sport organizations to demonstrate the power relations and inequality engrained in the discipline. Furthermore, sport management is a broad and interdisciplinary field, which CDA compliments by its
encouragement of interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary research. This dialogue can promote both methodological and theoretical developments in each discipline (Fairclough, 2016). In my work, I implemented critical discourse studies and cultural boundaries as frameworks, using CDA as a methodology. I was able to demonstrate how language used on Twitter can contribute to exclusive sport fan environments. Additionally, as ideally shown in this manuscript, the transdisciplinary approach demonstrated the value and benefit of using a CDA methodology to critique the functionalist perspective of sport from a sociological and management perspective. Studies can pull from knowledge of the various sub-disciplines, such as using economic, policy, communication, brand-relationship, leadership, gender, race, and diversity theories outside of sport to critique and provide new knowledge in sport management contexts.

This methodology offers alternative ways of producing and questioning multiple forms of language, which can provide practical implications for sport managers and practitioners. For example, focusing on the language and discourses used in apologies during brand/athlete/organizational transgressions can aid in crafting these statements. The analysis of marketing campaigns or slogans can question how the organization made a poor marketing decision (such as the case of Vanderbilt football whose slogan in 2015 was “we don’t need your permission”, two years after four football players were accused of rape). Studies focusing on diversity can use visual material to critique how diversity is portrayed and provide suggestions to create and enhance diversity in sport management contexts. CDA provides an underutilized methodological option for those conducting
critical sport studies whilst contributing to the practical implications of sport management research.

**4.3.6 Limitations of critical discourse analysis.**

As with any theory or method, limitations will arise with the use of CDA. One of the more significant limitations involves the implementation of CDA. Since this approach has no set theoretical viewpoint (Meyer, 2001; van Dijk, 2001a; Weiss & Wodak, 2003), it can be a difficult field to navigate. Essentially, there are few directives as to what a CDA study should look like, other than the need to have a ‘critical’ perspective. This lack of boundaries of what could be used in a CDA study could potentially leave the researcher open to criticisms about trustworthiness, choice of approach, or application of approach.

Not only is there ambiguity regarding the application of CDA, there is also a debate regarding its internal structure. As mentioned, Fairclough (1995a, 2016), Reisigl and Wodak (2016), and Jansacry et al., (2016) all had different methodological steps for the various approaches to CDA. Yet, these steps are loose guidelines and can be interpreted and used differently based on the researcher and project. Theory development in the various approaches to CDA has been emphasized with less work put toward clarifying the processes of analysis. Furthermore, there is no defined way of collecting data in CDA research (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). In fact, some scholars do not mention their data sampling methods. The unstructured nature of the various approaches leaves the researcher with general guidelines to use a particular CDA approach yet the ability to shape the methodology based on one’s research question. Being transparent about the
approach used is essential, as Liao and Markula (2009) stated: “it is crucial to understand the theoretical logic behind one’s chosen method of analysis” (p. 47).

There are bound to be questions regarding the rigor of CDA research. Various authors believe that different strategies should be implemented. For example, Wodak focused on triangulation, which integrates different perspectives and various sources of empirical data (Meyer, 2001). In contrast, van Dijk suggested that it is most important for the participants, or social group being investigated, to have access to and understand the findings (Meyer, 2001). Phillips and Hardy (2002) noted that due to the limited number of studies using CDA, as well as the lack of a systematic procedure of analysis, it might be difficult to convince editors and reviewers that the research is sound. A relativist approach to rigor could be suggested for both researchers and reviewers (Smith & McGannon, 2018). This view of rigor places emphasis on drawing the relevant quality criteria from lists (such as Tracy, 2010), and ensuring that the criteria, epistemology, and ontology align with the research goals, data collection and analysis, and write up of findings (Smith & McGannon, 2018). This approach to assessing integrity of research is very much in line with the flexible nature of CDA.

Overall, the limitations of using CDA are based on the fact that it is broadly defined and used in different ways across disciplines. Additionally, little structure is provided for operationalizing the theoretical concepts of CDA through strategies such as data collection and analysis. Various scholars have different ideas regarding how to promote the rigor in their research. The ambiguity found in this approach could be attributed to its’ infancy, as CDA has been around for only 30 or so years. The openness to multiple data sources leaves concern that a CDA-based study is boundless without
setting limits. However, as mentioned, there continues to be a reaction against formalizing CDA into a methodology that is more systematic, as it is seen by some to allow researchers to be more creative in their application and interpretation of data (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2010; Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Weiss & Wodak, 2003).

4.3.7 Conclusion.

Critical discourse analysis is still a relatively young methodological approach. However, with so much information and exposure from sport outlets, CDA provides an opportunity to expose the taken-for-granted notions that are associated with various forms of language. Not only is CDA relevant for critical studies, but also in the current political and social debates of political correctness, it is an opportune time for this methodology. Suggesting the use of CDA by sport management scholars is not to say that critical work is not being done, but rather that it offers an alternative methodological approach for these studies.

Chen and Mason’s (2018) work demonstrated how as sport scholars, we can also overlook how our own work contributes to dominant discourses, without exposing alternatives realities and ways of knowing that need to be considered. By engaging in methodologies that are critical and reflective, the sport management field can push boundaries of knowledge, question what is currently known, and demonstrate the multitude of ways power, inequality, and social dominance are enacted. Furthermore, by creating a dialogue between various sport management based theories and CDA, we are able to push the theoretical boundaries of each discipline and in turn, strengthen each.

Of note, there are many other forms of discourse analysis, such as narrative discourse (cf. De Fina & Georgopoulou, 2008; Thornborrow, 2012), mediated discourse
analysis (cf. Norris & Jones, 2005; Scollon, 1998), discursive psychology (cf. Potter, 2012), and feminist critical discourse analysis (cf. Lazar, 2005, 2007), all of which would be a fruitful enquiry into exploring sport management. *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (Gee & Handford, Eds.) and *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies* (Flowerdew & Richardson, Eds.) are also good resources to explore the many approaches. As this field continues to grow and new questions arise, we must start seeking new and alternative ways of producing knowledge, to bring a critical eye to what we already know and what we have yet to discover.

The purpose of this paper was to shed light on a relatively underutilized approach in sport management. Methodological articles can contribute to growing the sport management field, as Shaw and Hoeber (2016) noted: “perhaps we, as a discipline, need to make it easier to become aware of and learn about new methodologies” (p. 261). It is my hope that this overview opens doors for scholars to challenge themselves and embrace this methodology. Furthermore, as Singer et al. (2019) discussed, it is time to see qualitative methodology articles in sport management journals, instead opting to place these articles in other disciplines based on the belief that it would be better received. Critical discourse analysis has proven itself useful in the field already and has a justified place in sport management studies and journals.

### 4.3.8 References


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London: Longman.


Chapter 5 - Conclusion

5.1 Summary and Implications

This research added valuable insight to understanding the inclusive and exclusive nature of sport fandom. In merging two conceptual frameworks, critical discourse studies and cultural boundaries, this work demonstrated an alternative viewpoint to the predominately functionalist perspective. By taking a critical approach to language, I exposed taken-for-granted notions associated with sport fandom, in which ideologies dictate acceptable and unacceptable behaviours and norms. This research showed how fan-produced texts in a social media environment result in discourses that demonstrate the complex nature of sport fandom.

The intent of this study was not only to critique the assumed inclusive nature of sport fandom but also to demonstrate the inherent complexity of being a fan. It is important to acknowledge that the data was predominately positive, supporting previous research that sport fandom can create a sense of belongingness and enhance self-esteem (Branscombe & Wann, 1991; Wann, 2006). In order to bring a critical perspective, emphasis was placed on how sport fans use language in tweets to create cultural boundaries which dictate inclusivity and exclusivity. These boundaries, as demonstrated, were blurred, fluctuating, and permeable. The plurality of discourses in both studies exposed how inclusion and exclusion can exist simultaneously. This finding contrasts with research that tends to put sport fans into structured stages, models, and typologies, based on motivation, identification, and consumption (e.g., de Groot & Robinson, 2008; Funk & James, 2004; Gwinner & Swanson, 2003; Hunt, Bristol, & Bashaw, 1999; Lock, Taylor, Funk, & Darcy, 2012; Wann, 1995). These blurred boundaries suggest that
organizing fandom through these ways may overlook the diversity of fan experiences and require more consideration of the heterogeneity of sport fans.

Bringing in culture and cultural boundaries exposes another side to sport fandom. While numerous studies focus on social identity theory (SIT) (e.g., Dietz-Uhler & Murrell, 1999; Fink, et al., 2009; Gwinner & Swanson, 2003; Jones, 2000), culture places focus on the social construction of reality, which could provide insight into how and why social identities of sport fans are enacted on Twitter. For example, if loyalty is considered a normative behaviour and valued in sport fandom, it would make sense that those with high levels of identification with a team would display this trait. While SIT has exposed the way fans may engage in out-group degradation and polarization, it suggests this is based in the psychological commitment to a team. Additionally, it has been argued that social identity theory creates dichromatic categories based on ‘fans’ and ‘non-fans’ (Osborne & Coombs, 2013). Culture, on the other hand, recognizes how norms, attitudes, and values associated with fandom can influence how these identities are constructed. This concept demonstrates the complexity and messiness inherent in sport fan experiences, which may be overlooked when only considering identities. This focus on culture adds to Meân and Halone’s (2010) statement that sports’ “significance as a commonly understood and taken-for-granted cultural frame of reference and meaning remains somewhat underestimated. Indeed, sport has long been viewed as a site that constructs, represents, and provides insight into culture and cultural forms” (p. 254-255).

While it may be common to associate out-group degradation with fans of other teams, my dissertation demonstrates how fans of the same team can use discursive strategies, including polarization, pronouns, positive self-description and negative other
descriptions, and norms and values with other fans of same team, with
management/ownership, and with others who have opposing perspectives. Multiple
studies have explored in-group relations of fans, such as Heere and James’ (2007)
Multiple In Group Model, and Lock and Funk’s (2016) Multiple In Group Identity
Framework. This study takes an opposing approach, focusing on how the plurality of
discourses can expose multiple ways fans be excluded, or on the margins of fan culture.
Not only does this provide a conceptualization of fandom that can aid future researchers
in this area, it also adds to limited work that critiques or exposes a darker side to sport
fandom (e.g., Larkin & Fink, 2019; Wakefield & Wann, 2006).

Merging sport with critical discourse studies has proven to be beneficial. CDS is
rarely used in sport fan studies, yet discourses are found within sport settings, whether it
is related to class, gender, race, sexuality, ability, or leadership, consumer behaviour,
economy, organizational behaviour, and marketing. Bringing critical sociological based
frameworks to sport management allows scholars to question practices that result in
inequality, emphasizing context and power (Knoppers, 2015). This study explored fan-
produced texts and subsequent discourses to understand how the use of discourse can
create inclusivity and exclusivity in fan communities. Through exploring the power of
language and taken-for-granted notions associated with sport fandom, this work disrupts
the predominately inclusive narrative established by popular media and sport
organizations. Language used at the micro level simultaneously represents and challenges
dominant discourses at the macro level, which reiterates the heterogeneity of sport
fandom.
Meän and Halone (2010) noted that sport is “organized, enacted, and reproduced through language and other communicative practices in ways that echo and maintain particular cultural forms and their ideological underpinnings” (p. 254). Studying discourses provided an opportunity to explore how ideologies are present in culture, social identities, and language use. While dominant ideologies of sport fandom were present, they were also contested. As future research continues to explore issues of power, inequality, and social dominance, ideologies become an important facet, as they are used to interpret or call upon discourses. This dissertation has demonstrated how ideologies are present in language as well as in discourses. It exposes the question of if sport cultures are to become more inclusive, does it require challenging dominant ideologies and/or creating new ones?

This work has also contributed to the current knowledge of social media, specifically Twitter, in sport fandom contexts. While much of the research in this area has focused on uses and gratifications, and motivations for social media (e.g., Billings, Broussard, Xu, & Xu, in press; Clavio & Walsh, 2014; Haugh & Watkins, 2016), this study explored how language use on Twitter contributes to discourses that can draw cultural boundaries. In Hardin’s (2014) critique of Twitter studies in sport contexts, she argued that more substantial work needs to explore what tweeting means and its implication. She questioned if social media, and Twitter in particular, have impact on culture: “Is Twitter really a game changer in the ways in which we think and interact? Is it consequential in our media industries and cultural discourse or is it just helping to fray the edges a little?” (p. 115) My work aids in addressing this question by examining how the use of 140 characters results in creating, resisting, and maintaining dominant
discourses in sport fandom. While limited in content, language used in tweets is embedded in power relations and social dominance, giving this platform the ability to reinforce exclusivity in sport environments, whether that be through sport fan ideologies or homophobia. By incorporating a critical approach to tweets, it is possible to expose the power and ideological relations present in social media content.

This study reinforces the comments of Puschmann and colleagues (2014) regarding the power of Twitter: “studying society with Twitter can highlight different aspects of contemporary life …it is the aggregate and productively contradictory picture which emerges from a combination of these observation which is ultimately of the greatest value” (p. 427). With Twitter being a source of self-representation, part of identity maintenance, and rooted in self-production (Murthy, 2012), it is possible to understand how different users will call upon discourses and ideologies to represent their position. Tweets are embedded with social dominance, reinforcing a particular way of performing fandom. Both studies have demonstrated how user-generated content on Twitter can challenge the top-down flow of discourses and shifts away from the sport organization’s ability to control discourses directly (Bouvier & Machin, 2018; KhosraviNik & Unger, 2016). Furthermore, social media allowed for diversity of content created by multiple perspectives, where I could explore the plurality of discourses (Bouvier & Machin, 2018). Drawing cultural boundaries in a sport environment exposed that sites of resistance were still embedded in hegemonic discourse systems. This alludes to fans being more than just ‘prosumers’ by reinforcing their role in organizational culture as members of the organization.
This dissertation has demonstrated the inherent power of language, and how the use of language by sport fans demonstrate experiences that are complex, contradictory, and complicated. Language contributes to the understanding of social reality. ‘Truths’ that are socially constructed in language come to be taken for facts. This work demonstrated how language on the micro level reinforced or challenged discourses and taken-for-granted concepts at the macro level. To create more inclusive environment at the macro level of fandom, the use of language needs to be changed on the micro level. Furthermore, the plurality of discourses, which were exposed in texts, exposes taken-for-granted notions that are not obvious in sport fan research. While it may be assumed that sport fandom is an inclusive experience, a critical approach exposes an alternative viewpoint. Exploring language use aided in this discovery, as it is a central and foundational piece of social life and embedded with power relations, ideologies, inequality, and social dominance. Sport is also part of this everyday life, as Meân and Holane (2010) noted: “as an entity that has become routinely embedded and interconnected with how we define ourselves, the cultures we inhabit, and the language we use to achieve both, sport remains not just relevant but highly consequential” (p. 257).

5.2 Limitations

As with any study, there are limitations to this work. First, there are restrictions with data collection. While I was able to collect close to a million tweets, there could be other tweets that discuss fandom among Blue Jays’ fans or reacted to Pillar’s transgression that either did not use the hashtags (i.e., #LetsRise or #BlueJays), or the Blue Jays Twitter handle (@BlueJays), or that did not include the words that I used to filter the tweets (i.e., ‘fan’, ‘fans’, and ‘fandom’, ‘Pillar’, ‘Superman’, and
Therefore, the data that were collected are by no means the only tweets that would have spoken to those topics. Furthermore, while I had intentions of collecting tweets produced by the Blue Jays organization, the software program (Vista) was not able to do so. Collecting tweets authored by an individual was part of the early conceptualization of Vista but proved to be problematic in further versions of the software. Of note, tweets from the Blue Jays Twitter account could have been collected manually. It is possible that these tweets could have provided an organizational perspective in drawing cultural boundaries for both studies.

While Twitter provides a source of ‘naturally occurring’ talk, it could be argued whether this medium provides a more truthful portrayal of individuals, or if it is a space to observe the Hawthorne effect (Murthy, 2012). It could be a case where individuals responded in socially desirable ways, or that individuals posted comments with the purpose of instigating or playing devil’s advocate (i.e., trolling). Furthermore, with the restriction of 140 characters, the medium “ultimately tends towards the privileging of verbatim tweets rather than insuring the preservation of intended meaning (i.e., what the original speaker ‘want to get across’)” (Murthy, 2012, p. 107). Therefore, the interpreted intention of tweets may not be the actual intention of the author.

For this study, I used a significant amount of data (close to 5,000 tweets). While there were multiple tweets that spoke to similar discourses, it is important to recognize the impact (or lack thereof) of these tweets. That is, not every tweet receives much attention or is widespread, so how relevant are tweets that do not reach many people? Billings (2014) noted this when he said “studies should continue the conversation about the democratization of society via Twitter but should also query the related question of
whether it should give everyone an equal voice” (p. 111), which he continued to wonder if those with fewer followers would have the same effect by shouting at a local store. I did not explore each individual user and cannot speak to the popularity or potential influence of each account. Therefore, I am unaware of the users’ demographics and level of identification with the team. Additionally, assumptions were made that the individuals tweeting about the Blue Jays were at the very least consumers of the team. While many users identified themselves as fans, it is possible that not everyone who tweeted about the team viewed themselves as a fan or consumer of the Blue Jays, such as individuals who may be interested in social justice or are advocating for equality and tweeted about the Pillar transgression but do not actually follow the Blue Jays or have any investment in them.

Drawing cultural boundaries and engaging in critical discourse studies is an interpretative process. Therefore, while I have stated my position and how that has influenced the research, what is presented in this dissertation is based on the research goals and questions, as well as my own interpretation of the findings. This research did not aim to quantitatively compare inclusionary and exclusionary tweets, but focus was placed on the latter. The texts used for this study were predominantly negative in tone. This was in representation of the critical perspective, but it is important to acknowledge the other perspective that was not emphasized for this work. Additionally, this research only collected over one season, which was an unsuccessful season after two years (2015 and 2016) of the team making the playoffs. Therefore, the context under which this data was collected could have resulted in more negative tweets than in previous years.
5.3 Future Directions

This dissertation has demonstrated the value of exploring fan-produced discourses through cultural boundaries and critical discourse studies. The findings and limitations also expose openings for future research.

First, there are opportunities to explore how discourses are used in other social media platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram, or Snapchat. There is potential that fans may react in different ways depending on the platform, or that with more room for content (i.e., not restricted characters that Twitter has) other discourses are used to draw cultural boundaries. Other studies that explored reactions to athlete transgressions on Facebook have also demonstrated the plurality of reactions (Allison & Pegoraro, 2018; Frederick et al., 2016). This suggests there is an opportunity to take a cultural and discourse approach to these studies and critically explore sport-related scenarios. It also suggests that individuals are using other social media platforms, such as Facebook, to discuss transgressions and sport fandom. Therefore, it is worthwhile to explore how social media environments are spaces of producing sport-related discourses, as well as their dissemination, reinforcement, or challenging. Since Twitter proved to be a fruitful avenue, future studies using this platform could be followed up by contacting users for interview or survey purposes to gain a deeper understanding of their intentions in text production. O’Hallarn and colleagues (in press) also suggested that social media is a promising source to explore public discourse production. While this study did not explore threads in which fans are responding to a single tweet, another source for studies could be to choose a single tweet, either by the organization or a fan, and using the replies and conversation to discover discourses or how discourses are used in conversations.
Additionally, it is important to recognize the unique use of language in social media environments. A future study could compare culture and discourses created and reproduced on social media platforms and through observations at games and events, exploring if exclusion more likely to be present with language use online versus in-person.

I did not focus on the demographics or other background information of the Twitter users, and therefore cannot speak to how cultural boundaries may be drawn differently based on social identifies (gender, race, sexuality, class) or by varying levels of identification with the team. Future research could consider the multitude of ways that boundaries may be drawn by the positionality of the fans. This could add another element of critique to the inclusive and exclusive nature of sport fandom, by determining if exclusion occurs based on social factors, identification, or a combination of the two. It could also expose other components to the dominant sport fan ideologies (relating to race, gender, social class, and so forth), and how they can be reinforced or challenged.

As this study focused on one team, there is opportunity to compare teams within the same league and across sports to understand how culture may be established differently for different teams or sports. For example, in the NFL, Green Bay Packers fans wear cheese hats and Oakland Raiders fans are referred to as “The Black Hole”. How did these different cultural norms get started in the same sport? When exploring individual sports, like tennis, do discourses of loyalty, consumption, and unity also exist in sport fandom? Is being an NHL fan unique to being an NBA fan? What about the sport that would suggest different cultural norms? It would also be interesting to explore teams of the same sport in different geographical location (i.e., soccer or cricket) to further
understand how cultural boundaries are drawn. Another worthwhile enquiry would be to explore how new fans navigate the culture of teams, as well as how fans of teams in new locations (e.g., Las Vegas Knights in the NHL) create culture in a social media environment. This could also be explored in individual sports, such as tennis (exploring grand slams) or surfing, which have not been studied.

More work could also study the critical side of sport fandom. While my dissertation demonstrated how sport fan cultures can be both inclusive and exclusive, the next step could explore if being part of a sport culture include behaving in a way that would otherwise be unacceptable in regular society. Furthermore, can ‘negative’ fan behaviours create unity? Few studies have explored the ‘dark side’ of sport fandom, yet it has been recognized as an area that requires academic attention (Funk, 2017). There are opportunities to study these behaviours in social media environments and through observations at games or events, as well as through newspaper and magazine articles, media images, having participants take images, or conducting an ethnography or self-ethnography (especially as a new fan to a sport or team). There are many opportunities to continue to explore the ‘dark side’ or exclusionary behaviours in sport fandom. I view this as a worthy avenue for future sport fandom studies.
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Appendices

Appendix A – Blue Jays History and Context

An essential piece of critical discourse studies is the consideration of contextual factors (van Dijk, 2016). For that reason, I have provided detailed background information on the Toronto Blue Jays.

**Toronto Blue Jays**

In 1976, Toronto was voted into the MLB as an expansion to the American League and the Blue Jays played their first season in 1977. The Blue Jays were owned by Interbrew and were sold to Rogers Communications in 2000. Importantly, the Blue Jays are now the only MLB team in Canada, as the Montreal Expos relocated to Washington (and became the Washington Nationals) in 2005. While they made it to the American League Championship Series (ALCS) in 1985, 1989, and 1991, they lost each time. However, they went on to win both the American League Championship Series and the World Series back-to-back in 1992 and 1993. After 1993, they did not make it to the ALCS again until 2015, where they lost to the Kansas City Royals. They repeated their success the following year, playing in the ALCS and losing to the Cleveland Indians.

Toronto had the highest attendance record in the American League (AL) in the 2016 season with 3.39 million fans coming to watch, falling just behind the Los Angeles Dodgers and the St. Louis Cardinals in the entire league (CBC Sports, 2016). This was the first time they had over 3 million in attendance since 1993, when they last won the World Series (Davidi, 2016). This was a drastic increase in attendance from their 2010 season, in which there were just fewer than 1.5 million fans that showed up (Davidi, 2016).
At the beginning of the 2016 season, the Blue Jays had 1.3 million followers on Twitter, which made them the second most followed team in the MLB (Bogart, 2016). Additionally, Blue Jays players such as Jose Bautista, Josh Donaldson, and Marcus Stroman all gained a significant number of followers during the offseason between 2015-2016 (Bogart, 2016). As of April 2017, the Blue Jays had 1.95 million followers on Twitter. The Blue Jays have encouraged the use of certain hashtags on social media to connect with fans. In 2015, they used “#ComeTogether”, whereas in 2016 the hashtag was “#OurMoment”. For the 2017 season, Twitter and the MLB collaborated to create emojis and official hashtags for every team (Ruiz, 2017). The hashtag chosen for this season was “#LetsRise”.

The 2017 Season

The Blue Jays played their first game on April 3rd and finished the season on October 1st. They began the season with their worst record ever at 1-9, which involved seven straight losses from April 7th to 14th. They finished the 2017 season with a record of 76-86, ending up fourth (and last) in the AL East. After two successful seasons, they were unable to make the playoffs in 2017. The team was plagued by player injuries, losing many of their top stars (such as Josh Donaldson and Troy Tulowitzki) for multiple weeks. They also struggled to close games, losing 13 games in which they led, in either the ninth inning or during extra innings. Yet, the fans’ continued support was evident in the Blue Jays finishing first in attendance in the American League with 3.2 million over the season and $83 million spent on gate receipts (“Toronto Blue Jays”, 2018). Importantly, on July 26th, 2017, Rogers announced that ticket prices would be increasing in 2018 by 17% (the team’s record was 48-55 at that time).
Appendix B – Ethics Exemption

University of Regina

Research Ethics Board
Exemption

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR
Katie Swinson

DEPARTMENT
Faculty of Kinesiology and Health Studies

REB#
N/A

SUPERVISOR
Dr. Larena Hoeber

TITLE
Exploring Cultural Boundaries in Sport Fandom

REVIEWED ON:
March 22, 2017

Thank you for submitting your memo regarding an REB exemption. It has been determined that this project does not require REB Review as per article 2.2 of the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans, which states “Research that relies exclusively on publicly available information does not require REB review when: a) the information is legally accessible to the public and appropriately protected by law; or b) the information is publicly accessible and there is no reasonable expectation of privacy”.

Note that although exempt from Research Ethics Board review, all aspects of the study must be conducted in an ethical manner. If there are significant changes to the methodology or the research question, please notify the Research Ethics board as review may be required based on the proposed changes.
## Appendix C – Initial Categorization of Cultural Boundaries Data

### Table 3.2

**Fan Culture Data Organization**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fan Culture Aspect</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attendance</strong></td>
<td>Discussions of Blue Jays fans attending games, also some discussion of a lack of attendance towards end of season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Traveling</strong></td>
<td>Positive tweets about Blue Jays fans who travel to opposing team’s stadiums. Frequently about Seattle and Chicago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positivity</strong></td>
<td>Mainly in-group favouritism, also focusing on unity of fans (opening day), lots of use of ‘we’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unity through pessimism / division</strong></td>
<td>Bad season meant many fans could lean on each, be in misery together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Loyalty</strong></td>
<td>Speaking to how loyal fans are or lack of loyalty to team that exists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bandwagon</strong></td>
<td>Speaking directly about the bandwagon fan base <strong>Merge with loyalty</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Media</strong></td>
<td>Any tweets relating to social media – fans posting or lack thereof, hashtags, individual users’ followers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Watching</strong></td>
<td>Tweets related to actually watching the game, and those who are not watching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Real/authentic/diehard</strong></td>
<td>Using these terms to describe/define fandom or use as a counterpoint for bandwagon fans **Merge with loyalty?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Outgroup</strong></td>
<td>Only 2 – relating to fans of other teams. **Maybe move these two to the outgroup category?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Panic/don’t panic</strong></td>
<td>Only 3 – Relating to fans who are already freaking out about the season **move to Jays fans category?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>Fans who allude to violence occurring at game or suggesting something violent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Booing own team| Accepting of booing own team, viewing it as appropriate based on context *(NOTE: Many fans found this a bad thing (explained in Jays fans category)*)
**Relates to loyalty – demonstrating positive support** |
| Clothing       | Any tweets relating to wearing clothing or purchasing clothing                                                                               |
| Giving up      | Fans who are ready to throw in the towel on the season, or recognizing that the season is over                                               |
| Humour         | Using humour as a coping mechanism? Humour tweets based on the Blue Jays performance, some related to fan behaviour                           |
| Wave           | Only 4 – viewing the wave in a positive manner *(NOTE: Many tweets about how bad the wave is in the Jays fans category)*                     |
| Displaced fans | Tweets about fans who are living in other locations in Canada, US, outside of Toronto who are fans                                           |
Table 3.3

*Non-Jays Fans Data Organization*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Jays fans</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negative Outgroup</td>
<td>Negative tone in tweets directed towards fans of other teams or based on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>behaviours of fans of other teams.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Including: booing the Blue Jays, lack of attendance, outgroup degradation (using</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>names ‘idiots’, dismissing their fandom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Outgroup</td>
<td>Viewing fans of other teams’ positively due to their behaviour (standing ovation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for good player), having a good experience at a visiting stadium,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>recognizing them as good/enjoyable fans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3.4

**Jays Fans (Outgroup) Data Organization**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jays Fans (outgroup)</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negativity</strong></td>
<td>Maybe relating to loyalty, about: panicking too early, bandwagon, bad fan base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bandwagon/fairweather vs. true/real fans</strong></td>
<td>Tweets relating to the amount and behaviour of bandwagon fans, in addition to the comparison to real/true fans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Giving Up</strong></td>
<td>About fans who have given up on the season/team <strong>Move to bandwagon</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Consumption</strong></td>
<td>Tweets related to merchandise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lack of knowledge</strong></td>
<td>Viewing fan behaviour negatively based on an assumed lack of knowledge of fans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wave</strong></td>
<td>Negative views of Blue Jays fans who are doing the wave at the game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interference</strong></td>
<td>Negative views of fans who interfere with the ball when it is hit near the stands. <strong>Should this be moved to lack of knowledge?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social media</strong></td>
<td>Negative tweets relating to the way fans are using social media, complaining on social media, or how bandwagon fans will jump back on social media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Booing own team</strong></td>
<td>Views booing own team as a negative, compared to other fans who view it as acceptable based on context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mgmt</strong></td>
<td>In relation to being a Jays fan, accepting it blindly, looking to hold mgmt. accountable  <strong>Maybe move to MGMT category</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.5

Management Data Organization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MGMT</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Sub categories</td>
<td>All tweets chosen in this sample have negative connotation in relation to mgmt. Including: game day experience, increasing ticket prices, disappointed with management and leadership</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.6

*Identity Data Organization*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Themselves</td>
<td>Identifying their level of fandom or association with team in tweet. <strong>Wonder if this should go in Fan culture, under loyalty.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>Tweets that identify someone other than themselves as fans, including: babies and children, grandparents, animals (dogs, gerbil, horse, raccoon?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.7

*Multiple Fandoms Data Organization*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fan object</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fan of other players</td>
<td>Blue Jays fans who admit being fond of, enjoy, or be fans of players on different teams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fan of 2 teams</td>
<td>ONLY 2 – fans who admittedly are fans of the Blue Jays and another team in the MLB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fan of Multiple Sport</td>
<td>Frequent discussion of being a Toronto sport fans (baseball, basketball, hockey). Also a few tweets about tennis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex-player positive support</td>
<td>Tweets relating to Edwin Encarnacion coming back to Toronto and providing positive support to him (cheering, standing O)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.8

*Tensions in Fandom Data Organization*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tension in Fandom</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Subcategories</td>
<td>Tweets relating to being a fan but not always enjoying it. To fandom being stressful, hard, challenging, embarrassing, wanting the season to be over, looking forward to off days. Emotions or behaviour we don’t typically associate with being a ‘true’ fan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D – Raw data analysis

Table 3.9

*Cultural Boundaries Data Analysis*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Username</th>
<th>Tweet</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>??</td>
<td>1st one to call me a bandwagon fan because I get frustrated with my team gets blocked. I've stood by them since the early 80's. #BlueJays</td>
<td>Calling out other fans who may question their loyalty. Voicing right/power in noting that this individual is able to be frustrated with team. Part of being a fan. Do not always need to demonstrate positive support, can be upset. Other fans labelling him as a bandwagon fan when being frustrated. Gets blocked - referring to blocking people on Twitter I’ve stood by them since the early 80s - Need to defend themselves and their fandom by demonstrating status. Having been a fan for a long time gives power/ability to critique team. But not if you have only become a fan recently. Rogers - calling out ownership, directly comment towards them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=:O) Elspeth ??</td>
<td>#BlueJays Rogers SERIOUSLY 17% price increase! Hope you enjoyed the full dome while it lasted! Shame on you for stabbing the LOYAL fans! ??</td>
<td>SERIOUSLY - capitalization to emphasis anger or shock at raising prices 17% price increase! - providing factual information about how much the price was increased Hope you enjoyed the full dome with it lasted - Sarcastic/passive aggressive. Trying to bring to their attention how loyal fans were in their attendance, paid to support team. Shame on you for stabbing the loyal fans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Disappointed, being upset their actions. Idea that teams wouldn’t exist with fans who consume the sport. Even with a poor season, fans continued to demonstrate support. Using the concept of violence or “stabbing in the back” of being disloyal

Fans are expected to be loyal and support team, this mgmt move could be viewed as disloyal to fans. Does loyalty go both ways?

'Fans' have given up on this team. Not this one. It ain't over till it's over to the last pitch#StayInTheFight #BlueJays

FANS’ - in quotation marks, so-called fans, not real or authentic

Not this one - Differentiating themselves from the rest of the fans who are ‘bad’ fans and have given up on the season/team. Saying they are different because they are still demonstrating support and loyalty

it ain’t over till it’s over to the last pitch - commitment, dedication, and loyalty are required to be a real fan and not a so-called fan

#stayinthefight - positive support

I get it, fans have hated Gibby for years & will hate on Gibby no matter what. You badly want to be the ones making the decisions?? #BlueJays

I get it, fans have hated Gibby for years - acknowledging that there are many people in the fan base who have stayed fans of the team but have not liked or appreciated Gibby as the manager. Something you have to deal with as a fan when you don’t have control over the team

& will hate on Gibby no matter what - Irrational fans that need someone to blame for the team not doing well, he becomes the scapegoat

You badly want to be the ones making the
decisions - Taking the side of defending the org/manager. Recognizing that it is easy for the fans to blame someone. But they may not actually want the job or be the one who has to make decisions.

Demonstrating tension or irony that people want to critique org but may not want the actual power that comes with making those decisions

Diane #BlueJays FANs at #rogers centre STOP booing. It doesn't help. Just grab Twitter and do it in silence!!!!!

Fans at rogers centre STOP booing - telling others what to do. Using power to dictate how fans should behave. Not acceptable to demonstrate frustration with team. Must pay to go to a game but then be policed by others on how to ‘fan’

It doesn’t help - Critiquing fan actions based on the idea of if they are contributing positively to the team or not. No room for behaviours that don’t. HOWEVER - does cheering for a team really make a difference? They could cheer nonstop and the Jays could still lose.

Just grab Twitter and do it in silence - so it is not about not demonstrating negative fan behaviour, IT IS WHERE. Don’t do it at the game but go on Twitter and then it's ok to engage in those behaviours? Also, something said on Twitter is not necessarily in ‘silence’

#rogers - maybe hoping to reach those fans who are engage in the behaviour
### Table 3.10

**Reactions to Athlete’s Transgression Data Analysis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Username</th>
<th>Tweet</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caitlin</td>
<td>Disappointment to wake up to one of your favourite players using homophobic insults. Pillar I thought you were better than that #BlueJays ??</td>
<td>Disappointment - does not approve of these actions, does not approve of homophobic language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wake up to - wasn’t watching game. Inconsistent with fandom. Pillar is favourite player but this user is not watching game.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Your - meaning his (user)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Homophobic insults - not language or slur. Insult - to make someone feel bad. Insult = negative. So is the word ‘faggot’ an insult? Does the queer community use this at all amongst themselves? Is it an insult based on who uses the term?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I thought you were better than that - Expectations of athlete. Not meeting expectations. Athletes are supposed to be role models.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dovid</td>
<td>@KPI LLAR4 Good for you to man up we'll keep cheering for you all year #pillarforallstar #bluejays #MLB #progress</td>
<td>man up - Praising his ability to accept responsibility. Does “man up” then implying that women do not take responsibility? Yet historically women have been responsible for many domestic duties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krupnik</td>
<td></td>
<td>We’ll - Identifying with fans of the team/player.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>We will keep cheering for you - Keeping loyalty/praise/respect for player after the transgression</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
#Progress - if progress was happening, perhaps Pillar wouldn't have used a homophobic term. Is it still progress since it was apologized for - unlike Getzlaf who essentially did not apologize or say anything wrong.

So now I can't enjoy - personalizing. They are unable to take joy in something they previously used to. They did not say they couldn't be a fan of them, but that they can no longer take joy from their leisure activity or get entertainment from this team.

@BlueJays because #pillar - They cannot enjoy the Blue Jays because of the action of a single player. Speaking directly to Blue Jays.

whose play I admire - noting that they do respect and enjoy the way Pillar plays.

Relating to this on-field performance as enjoyable

is a jerk - name calling. Referring to Pillar as someone who is mean. Interesting to critique his use of language than to use other hurtful language to name call.

It is NOT part of the game - Emphasis using capitals. Referring to post-game interview. Challenging the notion that homophobic language has any place in sport. It does not belong and is not relevant to the game in any way.

Need help with a real apology? - Not believing in the apology or not accepting. Not willing to forgive. Maybe a rhetorical question. Part of the game is not an apology or acceptable reason why it happened. (**This is prior to his twitter apology)**
Those Jays

The dude literally risks his life just to make one out for the team...

The dude – generalization. Does not mean Pillar here by name. Assumes reader knows who is speaking about immediately. Perhaps assuming this will be read by Jays fans, assuming interacting with other fans on Twitter. (Mentions ‘Pillar’ later).

Literally risks his life - hyperbole. Relating to his “superman” catches. Over-exaggerated but doing so to demonstrate the team player that Pillar is. Viewing him in a positive light. Because he is so willing to risk his body (discourse of playing through the pain or sacrificing one’s body), he cannot do wrong.

We - part of the in-group. We referring to Blue Jays team. Association for this individual with the team.

If you boo Pillar once we get home, you're a piece of shit #BlueJays

You boo him your are a piece of shit - othering. If you do not support him or demonstrate positive support towards him, you are in the outgroup. Overlooking the impact of what was said possibly, dismissing it as an insignificant issue or no reason for fans to not support him.

Reinforces the discourse that fans must be loyal

#BlueJays - being part of the overall discussion. Perhaps trying to influence the other fans of this viewpoint.

***Note - so when it’s bad I am wondering if they are putting some responsibility on the Blue Jays but when it’s good, I am saying its just part of overall experience. Bias are perhaps evident here*****
Jason Knox: Pillar is frustrated, says something stupid, apologizes, so he's getting crucified. We are getting so thin skinned. It's unreal. 

#Bluejays

Frustrated - emotional. Letting emotions get the best of him. Common thing in sport, it’s ok for men to emotional in a sport setting (reference for that).

Says something stupid - homophobic slur as unintelligent BUT NOT inappropriate.

he gets crucified - first definition “put (someone) to death by nailing or binding them to a cross, especially as an ancient punishment.”. Othering** - ppl who ‘crucified’ him for what he said.

We - “society”

are all getting so thin skinned, it’s unreal - easily offended. Take everything to heart. The fact that people take these things to heart is ridiculous. People should not be offended by the use of language

#Bluejays - part of broader conversation